The German Tribune

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Recognition of Peking must come as a matter of course

After years of reserve the People's Republic of China has outlined its views on the Four-Power Berlin agreement and the treaties of Warsaw and Moscow. The outcome of the first phase of Federal Republic *Ostpolitik* is noted unenthusiastically but without criticism.

Compared with the harsh polemics with which Peking greeted Bonn's Ostpolitik two years ago the latest sober commentary represents a surprising change to a more realistic approach.

China has now obviously come to terms with the new state of affairs and is thus intimating to Bonn that the Moscow and Warsaw treaties no longer represent a stumbling-block in the way of a return to normal in diplomatic relations.

The Bonn Federal government has yet to respond to this latest signal from Peking. China evidently remains an awkward topic.

As long as the Moscow and Warsaw treaties were not signed, sealed and delivered caution appeared to be advisable. Bonn well realised how sensitively Moscow would have reacted to attempts by this country to come to terms with Peking.

A number of Opposition politicians accordingly rated a flirtation with Peking a trump card in negotiations with Eastern Europe. The Federal government, however, – and doubtless rightly so – has resisted from the start the temptation to indulge in an experiment that could only too easily have been interpreted as political spite.

The government never lost sight of the priorities of this country's Ostpolitik. It was, is and remains a simple fact that Warsaw and Moscow, not to mention the GDR or indeed Berlin, are of more immediate importance to Bonn than Peking.

Convincing though this guideline may sound and valid though it may remain after the dramatic course of Bundestag ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, one can but wonder whether, in this one-sided form, it does international political developments justice.

A year or two ago diplomatic recognition of outsider China could have been regarded as an unfriendly act towards Moscow. The situation is now rather different. People's China has gained an importance of its own that is everywhere in evidence.

Peking is a member of the United Nations and a permament member of the UN Security Council. China is making its presence felt ever more self-confidently in the international diplomatic arena.

The latest events at the UN environmental protection conference in Stockholm indicate what an important role the People's Republic of China now plays and the extent to which its views are heard and approved.

This new status of People's China is what has occasioned countless countries to reconsider their viewpoints in recent months. There seems to be no end to the number of countries that are granting Peking full diplomatic recognition.

Moscow has long since resigned itself to the idea and in not a single instance has the move to recognise Peking been interpreted from the word go as an anti-Soviet one.

In the wake of China's admission to the United Nations the normalisation of bilateral relations between Peking and other UN members has come to be a matter of course, and not only for Moscow.

In this country too recognition of Peking by one country or another is no longer viewed as a sensation. The clearest proof that this is no longer the case was the recent establishment of diplomatic ties between Peking and Athens, a news item that despite its ideological oddity rated a mere five or ten lines in the press in this country.

In view of such an obvious trend the Bonn government's reserve seems almost odd. There can be no doubt that this country has long had a vital interest in making contact with Peking via normal diplomatic channels.

This country is, when all is said and done, China's third-largest trading partner and this country's representatives are in virtually continual session with Peking's diplomats, be it at UNCTAD III in Santiago de Chile or at the UN environmental conference in Stockholm.

The first step on the road towards normal relations would only assume the proportions of a spectacular move if it were made to appear one. A prior visit to Peking by Chancellor Brandt would be as much out of tune as would an expendition to the Forbidden City by Foreign Minister Scheel, who appeared to be thinking in terms of a visit himself only a matter of months ago.

Recognition of Peking by Bonn must be carried out in the same way as it has been elsewhere in the world, by normal diplomatic means, without hue and cry and without the fiddling protocol of prominent politicians It must be implemented as though it were (as indeed it is) a matter of course resulting necessarily from developments on the international political stage.

This approach would be fairly unlikely to occasion mistrust in Eastern Europe. It makes no difference whatsoever to the existing and continuing priorities of Bonns's Ostpolitik.

Eastern European capitals will in any case appreciate that Bonn is at the tail end of countries that still have to accord Peking full diplomatic recognition.

Apart from Portugal this country is the only European member of Nato that has yet to make the move. *Harry Hamm*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 June 1972)

IN THIS ISSUE



Kiel Week guest

Avery Brundage, chairman of the International Olympics Committee, inspected the Olympics regatta facilities in Kiel on 5 June. Mr Brundage (right) was accompanied by Berthold Beitz, president of the West German Olympics Committee (seated next to Mr Brundage). Mr Brundage and Herr Beitz, went abroad *Germania IV* sailing in Kiel Week events.

(Photo: Wolfgang-Peter Geller)

North Vietnam's offensive was not worth the price

Assuming North Vietnam thinks in similar military terms to other, less aggressive countries General Giap ought by rights rather to regret having launched the offensive two months ago that was intended to make life more difficult for President Nixon in talking with Moscow and Peking and to shoot South Vietnam into a state in which it was ready to be taken by storm.

Following tough and chequered fighting the resistance of the South Vietnamese army, which has had to fight without US ground support for the first time ever, has not been broken after all. At some points Saigon has even regained the initiative.

What is more, the non-stop deployment of US air and marine support against Hanoi's conventionally massed ground troops has taken a terrible toll in terms of blood shed.

The targets of the North Vietnamese offensive were undoubtedly further-reaching yet so far the contested towns of Hué, Kontum and An Loc have not fallen and the approaching rainy season will put an end to further plans for major military operations. Thus far Hanoi has failed to score a crucial success and local successes have been offset by an unexpected worsening in the prevailing international climate as far as North Vietnam is concerned.

Hanoi's first strike attack, not occasioned by prior moves by the other side, was countered by President Nixon with an intensification of aerial bombardment to a degree none of his predecessors would have dared to consider, a degree that took Hanoi too by surprise in a US Presidential election year.

This aerial bombardment is bringing home to the North Vietnamese the horrors of war, is destroying the country's economy and infra-structure and ought to bring home the message that it is likely to prove impossible to stage a military take-over of South Vietnam once the Americans are out of the picture.

Hanoi officials have presumably been expecting a wave of protest to sweep the United States and make life difficult for the President. This has not been the case.

It was too apparent that Hanoi has been the aggressor and that President Nixon would have been only too happy to come to terms. This time at least there could be little doubt as to who had unleashed the fury of warfare again and who was merely fighting back.

Haiphong harbour is still mined and even the protests by Peking and Moscow have declined in volume, which must come as a particular disappointment to Hanoi.

One can but imagine that President Nixon has outlined his plans for a neutral South Vietnam in Peking and Moscow in such a way that Hanoi's military campaign has assumed the proportions of a thorn in the flesh.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 10 June 1972)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Nato vigilance remains the price of freedom in Europe

Nato Foreign Ministers have reached agreement on the need for a European security conference and multilateral exploratory talks faster than expected.

Their decision was taken in the wake of the Moscow summit between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev and in appreciation of the growing burden of military budgeting on governments in both East and West.

Nato, however, is not only a political association consisting of fifteen member-states. It has since its inception been a defence alliance. Were the euphoric ideas currently circulating in the West only true its abolition could well be considered.

In fact, though, the situation is different. The superpowers convened in Moscow merely conceded power stalemate. They have agreed not to increase the number of nuclear missiles they have at the ready but are free to improve them qualitatively.

The new Soviet nuclear submarines currently under construction will, according to the Pentagon, have fewer but longer-range missiles on board, for instance.

At present military leaders do not feel nuclear strikes to be imminent, but in their offices they have charts indicating, for example, that the Soviet Arctic fleet

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is firmly in control of the Nato flank off the coast of Northern Norway and is advancing far out into the Atlantic.

It is not only that the Soviet Mediterranean squadron is continually being reinforced as a counterweight to the US Sixth Fleet, either. The Red Fleet is in being in all the seven seas. Why?

Nato military experts have an answer at the ready. "The Soviet Union has probably embarked on the present detente and peace strategy in view of there being too great and too unnecessary a risk of war.

"This is also no doubt why the fleet as a classic peace and world power ploy is showing the flag on the seven seas and playing its part in encouraging revolutions and so-called just wars and lending support to socialist regimes."

This view is held by pundits who look the facts in the face. As long as opposite numbers in the East cordially submit peace and detente proposals while at the same time pursuing a full-scale armaments programme the Nato slogan vigilance is the price of freedom continues to be appropriate.

Ever since the oft-mentioned Reykjavik signals the Atlantic alliance has been virtually unerring in its efforts to bring about a reasonable agreement between the two sides.

The principle of defence and detente has been defined in increasing detail. Regardless of the minefields that mark the Iron Curtain Western Europe's willingness to lay the groundwork for peaceful coexistence all over the Continent has grown increasingly apparent.

The response from the East has been feeble. Kremlin policy has ensured that Nato's conventional firepower can be counted out from a standing start, as it were.

The Americans have not shelved their friendly alliance commitments to Europe but it is only right that the saturated Europeans ought to pay more attention to their own protective shield – unless, that is they are prepared to rely on Big Brother.

The warning note sounded by the chairman of the North Atlantic Council, General Steinhoff, deserves not to be disregarded.

In a swiftly expanding atmosphere of detente that is assuming euphoric traits security must be increased, or at least not allowed to decline below the present questionable level. *Gerd Scharnhorst*

(Welt am Sonntag, 4 June 1972)

Marshal Tito visits Moscow

Once again the Soviet leaders were at hand at Sheremetyevo airport, Moscow, to welcome an old adversary. This time General Secretary Brezhnev was among their number and the man who set foot on Soviet soil for the first time in more than four years was President Tito of Yugoslavia.

In the Kremlin the eighty-year-old guest of honour was promptly awarded an Order of Lenin and the deviationist Marshal was lauded as a prominent leader of the international communist movement.

The low point in relations between Belgrade and Moscow reached after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia would seem at long last to have been overcome. Leonid Brezhnev's readiness to make amends was clear enough during his visit to Belgrade last September.

Further steps towards normalisation then swiftly followed. Mutual polemics in the Press came to an end. The Bulgarians were ordered by Moscow to bring to an end their hateful Macedonian campaign. Mutual travel returned to normal. A three-week journey of inspection round Yugoslavia by the Soviet planning chief led to an abrupt increase in trade and economic ties.

Detente being the order of the day in Europe, Brezhnev and Tito have decided to make good their differences and resume fraternal relations.

Russia is making a show of being flexible with the aim of ensuring that Belgrade toes the line. Tito has always been an unwitting adversary of the Soviet Union and now feels able to give freer rein to his sympathy with Moscow.

The two countries have much in common but not everything though. Brezhnev would merely like to make use of the current detente phase to further cement the bloc policy of old. Tito's aim in promoting detente and the European security conference is to gain further leeway for non-alignment and if possible loosen further bloc ties.

(Die Zeit, 9 June 1972)

Bonn and Warsaw to exchange ambassadors soon

Bonn and Warsaw are shortly to exchange ambassadors, the two countries having established diplomatic relations on 3 June following the coming into force of the Warsaw Treaty.

This joint intention was announced in a 5 June final communiqué concluding talks in Bonn between Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Czyrek and Secretary of State Frank of the Bonn Foreign Office.

Uncertainty as to the juncture at which full diplomatic relations were to be established was clarified with a reference to the Warsaw communiqué of 8 December 1970 according to which this step was to be taken immediately on the Treaty coming into force. The Warsaw Treaty documents were exchanged on 3 June.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 6 June 1972)

Peking steps up anti-Soviet line

The establishment of diplomatic relations between Peking and Athens is a further element of Chinese anti-Soviet forward defence, currently concentrated on the Mediterranean and the Western part of the Indian Ocean.

China's attempts to build up a *cordon sanitaire* around the political stormclouds of the Middle East, where Moscow is busy pursuing definite goals of its own, are growing increasingly apparent.

These, then, are the most important moves made by Peking over the past two months.

Malta is to be granted 46.2 million Marks in development aid so as to be able to stand on its own two feet and not to have to rely on the superpowers.

In return Peking has been promised

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that no Soviet military vessels will be allowed to use the port facilities at La Valetta. There will be no Soviet embassy in Malta either.

The Soviet Union will manage its dealings with Malta from London and Rome. Peking is shortly to establish a mission of its own in La Valetta.

At the same time Peking continues to woo Ethiopia, particularly on the occasion of the thirty-first anniversary of the return of Haile Selassie to Addis Abeba after its liberation from the Italian imperialists.

The tiny Indian Ocean island of Mauritius was in May granted a loan of no less than 135 million Marks.

Peking has also intensified relations with Tanzania, another country bordering the Indian Ocean. It has taken over training the Tanzanian air force and next year, so it was announced on 1 May in Dar-es-Salaam, will be supplying the East African state with a squadron of MiG fighter jets.

With the aim of further intensifying its links with the Mediterranean Peking is this summer to inaugurate its first transcontinental air service, which will tentatively connect Peking with Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Bucharest, Belgrade, Tirana and possibly Rome. Could it be that Athens is now also to be included?

In foreign policy terms Peking has launched evident anti-Soviet offensives in the Mediterranean and the Indo-Pacific. Domestic defence are at the same time being strengthened.

July 19 will be the tenth anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's famous decree on the build-up of the militia. In honour of this jubilee the militia has been boosted at an unprecedented rate over the past two months, particularly in Inner Mongolia.

When all is said and done, no fewer than 44 Soviet divisions are stationed along the Soviet border with China and Mongolia. In 1970 there were only thirty.

As China well knows the Soviet Union hopes, in the wake of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the European security conference, to gain more room to manoeuvre in Europe and so be able to pay more attention to its neighbour to the East. *Oskar Weggel*

(Die Welt, 8 June 1972)

Bonn and Cairo let bygones be bygones

Bremer Nachrichten

With the announcement that diplomatic relations between Bonn and Cairo are to be resumed normal relations appear to be in the offing after a break of seven years.

Cairo broke off relations with Bonn on 13 May 1965 after an Arab League recommendation to do so in view of the prior exchange of ambassadors between the Federal Republic and Israel.

Nine other Arab countries followed suit. Five of them, Jordan, the Yemen Republic, Algeria, the Sudan and Lebanon, have since abandoned this policy.

The Arab League recommendation was formally withdrawn on 13 March last.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between Cairo and Bonn is viewed by Egypt as an expression of confidence in the Middle East policy pursued by the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn, which favour a balanced relationship with all Middle East countries.

Realising that it was poor policy on the Arabs' part to shut up shop in Bonn and leave Israel a free hand in this country Egypt has finally been strengthened in its resolve to resume full diplomatic ties.

Relations with Cairo were chilly from this country's point of view prior to the break, GDR leader Walter Ulbricht having been welcomed with the greatest cordiality in the Egyptian capital as an official visitor at the end of February 1965.

Egypt granted the GDR full diplomatic recognition on 10 July 1969, which did not improve matters either. The late President Nasser expressed the desire for an improvement in relations with the Federal Republic but Bonn expressed regret at the "further strain on German-Arab relations."

Following the abandonment of Arab League policy by a number of Arab countries repeated attempts were made to sound out the possibility of a resumption of diplomatic relations.

Egypt only recently informed its partners in the Federation of Arab Republics, Syria and Libya, of its intention finally to take the plunge.

In Bonn it is felt to be more than likely that Hans Georg Steltzer, currently head of the cultural affairs department at the Foreign Office, will be this country's future ambassador in Cairo.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 8 June 1972)

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■ POLITICS

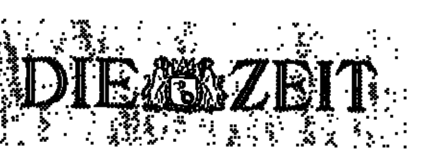
Bonn prepares for November elections

In late autumn there will be a general election. Everything points to this, even though the official party positions still seem as immovable and as far apart as they were a fortnight ago.

Government spokesmen never tire of playing the same tune: the Chancellor will only resign or call a vote of confidence if the Opposition makes a binding statement that it is in favour of new elections and refuses to employ the strategem of a vote of no-confidence and an election for the Chancellorship.

Still the Opposition harps on the rights accorded it by the constitution and the oath of manifestation to be made by the SPD/FDP coalition. And still the Bundestag is in stalemate. The one side cannot be toppled, the other side cannot win. The government's emergency plan seems to be proving its worth. The SPD/FDP coalition can govern as the eventful past week has shown.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gro-



myko was guest of a government that showed itself as full of self-confidence as if it had a clear majority. Diplomatic relations have been opened with Poland, the Berlin Agreement has come into force and even the domestic policy side of the emergency plan seems to have come off. In the Bundestag important but non-controversial laws are being passed, with a little help from the Opposition.

And despite this elections in the autumn? Members of the three parties represented in the Bundestag are not alone in demanding such certainty. What is far more important is what is being whispered and said among the leaders of the two fronts.

The striking remark of Herbert Wehner's that Brandt already has the confidence vote in his pocket, Heinz Kühn's public insistence in *Der Spiegel*, Walter Scheel and Karl-Hermann Flach's statements about schedules all fit together.

Willy Brandt's remark in jest in intimate circles that at the third reading of the budget he would perhaps call for the vote of confidence has a serious side to it.

As far as elections are concerned it is no longer Whether, no longer How, but just When. The Whether has been answered by events. Even if it were possible to govern the country for fifteen months without a working majority it would be particularly hazardous with a Cabinet that has become a bone of contention.

There is a knot of personal enmities among Cabinet members that refuses to be unravelled, diverging political ideas of a budget that will stabilise the currency and parliamentary impotence that can only be cured by the short, sharp shock of new elections.

There is no need for understanding with the Opposition on this point. In a most miraculous way unity has been reached in Bonn.

Rainer Barzel cannot be happy about Strauss' methods – starving out the government in parliamentary impotence – precisely because Strauss is trying a kind of dual strategy. He also wants to starve out Barzel at the head of the CDU/CSU group, or at least weaken his position, and for this reason he is avoiding a constructive vote of no-confidence.

The How, the matter of how to bring about elections, is reduced to a mere question of parliamentary procedure. In the end the most seemly method will win the day. How this point is decided will determine the When.

On this score the government has the whip hand, since it is able to determine the most favourable time for its own purposes. The rule of thumb is that the starting position for the government gets worse the longer it allows the image of being torn apart and unable to act to prevail.

Furthermore all the advantages of new elections would vanish if members of the government parties suddenly became frightened at their own courage. The points scored by the Ostpolitik tend to be forgotten more and more with every day of normalisation and after all Gromyko won't be in Bonn every week! The poor figure cut by the Opposition with regard to ratification will be forgotten with time as will the successes recently scored in the hunt for the Baader/Meinhof gang of left-wing anarchists. Finally the undeniable successes scored by the Brandt/Scheel government will become just a distant memory.

Working weeks

As far as the late autumn schedule (26 November seems to be a favourite date) is concerned the Bundestag cannot alter much except for making the last three weeks before the recess its last working weeks before the general election. And *working weeks* must be stressed, rather than electioneering weeks.

That is to say, the most important Bills waiting to go through the Bundestag must be passed. The internal security measures, the cutting of the conscription period to fifteen months, the ratification of ECC legislation, the pensions Bill and last but not least the 1972 budget.

The government was well advised in not putting off the parliamentary discussion of the budget any longer. Passing this over to the budgetary sub-committee should not be used as a pretext for failing to pass the budget before the new elections.

On the contrary. The government must be prepared to get the opinions of the electorate with its accounts presented clearly and in full. SPD/FDP policies will not continue with *this* budget anyway.

Eduard Neumaier

(Die Zeit, 9 June 1972)

Opposition calls for a government statement on financial position

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The CDU/CSU Opposition in the Bundestag today is proceeding along the same lines as the Social Democrats in the late autumn of 1966 – they are calling for a clear statement from the government on the government's financial position, a confession that the SPD/FDP coalition has devised a budget that verges on bankruptcy.

The word "Bestandsaufnahme" (stocktaking) so frequently used by Rainer Barzel, Franz Josef Strauss and other Opposition politicians as a challenge is the selfsame word the Social Democrats used six years ago in their battle against the CDU/CSU, when Ludwig Erhard and Erich Mende's FDP had made a mess of their books and Rainer Barzel said significantly: "Ludwig Erhard is and will remain Chancellor."

Today's CDU/CSU Opposition is making its share of the responsibility for approval of the far-reaching clean-up of government finances dependent on the government's prior confession that it has mismanaged things. As in 1966.

Nevertheless there is a difference: Erhard's government really had got to the end of its tether as far as budgeting was concerned, while today the reasons being given for demanding the oath of manifestation are misplaced.

As far as the 1972 budget is concerned it is true that from the financial point of view there are no grounds for the panic being drummed up by the Opposition. The difficulties arise from the fact that this budget must be drawn up in such a way as to serve an economic policy that is designed to damp down demand.

If the CDU/CSU want to drive the government into a corner by making them discuss unpleasant financial problems they should look to the 1973 budget and finance planning for future years.

Thus far it would be logical and consistent to end the contention over the 1972 budget as quickly as possible so that talks can begin on "the shape of things to come".

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 June 1972)

Open debate on the budget is the only way out

Chancellor Brandt has given the Opposition to understand that the government's offer to discuss with the CDU/CSU the date for a general election and how to make the arrangements for it runs out at the end of June.

This does not mean that the two sides will no longer be able to talk to each other after this date, but it does indicate that the Chancellor – quite rightly – feels the present situation whereby his government has too slim a majority to live and yet not slim enough to die is only tolerable for a short time.

Both sides want to improve their starting position for the early elections. For the Opposition this means dragging out the government's dirty linen for the public to see, particularly the state of affairs with regard to domestic policies and especially finance.

The government on the other hand wants to see the Bundestag dissolved before any accusation of financial mismanagement can be made to stick.

For this reason the Opposition would like to see the great budget debate held at a plenary meeting while the government would prefer the "profound discussion of budgetary affairs" to be held in the relative seclusion of a budgeting sub-committee. If the government has its way the budget debate will never emerge from this sub-committee and the whole matter will disappear completely when the Bundestag is dissolved.

In that situation the matter of the budget could only return to the plenary chamber if it seemed certain in advance that it would be approved, that is to say, if it would receive adequate support from the Opposition. For the Opposition this would mean a missed opportunity of stripping the government naked before everyone's eyes. But there is no move the government can make actually to turn this situation to its advantage.

If the government does refuse to discuss budgeting out in the open there will be enough opportunities for the Opposition to score points against a government that does not dare to publish its most important accounts and which uses filibustering tactics to cover up the fact that it no longer has a majority in the house.

Open battle without any special agreements and without any compromises between the parliamentary parties on the budget followed by premature elections would be eminently preferable.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 June 1972)

SPD draws up skeleton plan for 1985

In its "economic and political orientation outlines for the years 1973 to 1985" recently drafted the SPD gives precedence to social welfare policy priorities and aims that will not be hampered by financal straits.

According to the ideas of a party committee under the chairmanship of the deputy SPD Chairman Helmut Schmidt, who was appointed to this task at the 1970 SPD party-political conference in Saarbrücken, education and the sciences, town development and house building schemes and community services as well as transport could be taking up far more of the gross national product than at present.

Speaking in Bonn Schmidt warned that with the emphasis on these sectors other interests such as defence, health and sport

Hannoversche Allgemeine

might have to get by with normal growth rates and their share of the GNP might even stagnate.

The SPD committee succeeded with this long-term programme in agreeing on a draft in which the aims for social welfare would be tested from the financial point of view to see if they could be realised.

Schmidt defied all expectations by stressing that this was not an "overall plan". He laid far greater stress on the flexible non-binding nature of this orientation programme. Nothing binding could be published for the long term, he said, and not on any account for more than a two-year timespan.

This draft is to be discussed during the party-political conference at the end of this year. A declaration by the party committee as well as a "recommendation" by Schmidt stressed that the conference would not be asked to approve this programme in all its details. The priorities of the party's social welfare programme should be set. Schmidt stressed that correction and revision every two years would prevent this programme being followed dogmatically by the SPD till 1985.

The Chairman of the committee showed in the foreword to the draft programme that he would go out of his way to avoid criticisms that these were mere Utopian ideals. The committee, he said, had stuck to pragmatic aims and assessments. Moreover all Social Democratic programmes require the party to have sufficient majorities in the Bundestag and the procincial assemblies.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 June 1972)

MARSHALL AID

A tribute to U.S. generosity 25 years ago

DIE WELT

The effects of the greatest single act in the United States' international policy are immeasurable. Today, twenty-five years after, the last traces of the post-war era in Europe have been disposed of apart from a few isolated ruins.

Western Europe has enjoyed an unparalleled material and social rise. The liberty threatened from both inside and outside between 1945 and 1948 has become so much a part of everyday life that its value and sensitivity is often overlooked. The results justify the initiators of the United States' first great step in international politics, at their head President Harry Truman and his Secretary of State, General George Catlett Marshall, the instigator of the aid programme named after him.

Speaking at Harvard University on 5 June 1947, General Marshall stated that American democracy spared the worst effects of war and more powerful and wealthy than ever was committed to the material and political support of Europe.

This was the beginning of American constructivism with its worldwide involvement in the service of an idealistic policy. Today, twenty-five years later, it has come to its end because of a large number of reservations and a large cut in money available. An historical issue was made the subject of a formal address in Harvard. On the home front it was disputed for many years.

Originally General Marshall offered American aid to all countries suffering war damage. It was not only Western Europe that was to be helped but all European countries suffering hardship, including the Soviet Union that, along with Britain, had been the main recipient of American material aid since 1942.

But did the offer possess an anti-Soviet character? Was it part of a new political strategy to stem the expansion of Soviet power and Communist gains in elections throughout Europe?

The Marshall Plan followed the Truman Doctrine of 11 March 1947 under which the United States provided aid for Greece and Turkey in order to fight hardship, social unrest and revolution in southeast Europe and the Middle East.

Announcing his programme to Congress in 1947, Truman held out the prospect of American aid for all "free nations" resisting attempts at subjection by armed minorities or outside pressure. He stated that there were two political systems, one of free institutions and the majority vote and one based on terror, aggression and the suppression of liberty.

In Europe the short period of entente between the victors of the Second World War had already given way to the East-West conflict because the Soviet Union had broken agreements on the way Eastern European countries should be treated by setting up Communist popular front regimes.

Churchill had made his speech about an Iron Curtain that had fallen across Europe. Differences about the treatment of Germany and the new order to be set up in Central Europe increased and paralysed diplomatic activity. The Cold War began.

In this situation and in view of prospects of a power struggle in Europe any action on the part of America to stabilise and consolidate European countries exposed to the clutches of the Soviet army and shaken by internal confusion such as Italy and France was automatically a countermeasure to the expansion of the Soviet sphere of power.

General Marshall's offer of aid to all countries in Europe willing to cooperate in a European Recovery Programme alarmed the Soviet Union. The governments in Prague – Czechoslovakia was still a free country – and Warsaw wavered about accepting the American offer.



Brandt launches German Marshall Foundation

Chancellor Willy Brandt was met in Boston by the president of Harvard University Derek Bok, on 4 June. The Chancellor handed over a cheque for 10 million Marks during a special ceremony in Harvard to mark the establishment of the German Marshall Foundation, to be financed eventually with 150 million Marks provided by the West German government over 15 years. The Foundation's aim is to promote relations between Europe and the United States of America. The ceremony took place on the 25th anniversary of the commencement of Marshall Aid for Europe, and the Foundation is an expression of West German gratitude for the help given by America to war ravaged Germany after the cessation of World War II hostilities. (Photo: [illegible])

Stalin's answer was a complicated manoeuvre. He made Pravda condemn the Marshall Plan as a political attempt to interfere in countries' domestic affairs aided by dollars.

That was on 16 June. On 22 June the Russian government accepted an invitation from France and Britain to attend a European conference to examine the American offer.

Negotiations started in Paris on 26 June but came to an end when Molotov left on 2 July. The European Conference met on 12 July 1947 without the Eastern European States, including Finland. Czechoslovakia and Poland were forced to pull out. Only now was the division of Europe complete. Power blocs had been formed as a result of Russia's policy of hegemony. The peaceful challenge posed by the offer of aid for a joint European programme and for European cooperation had been too much for the Soviet Union.

All later tendencies for the Eastern European States to secede from the Soviet control system were anticipated here within a space of only six weeks.

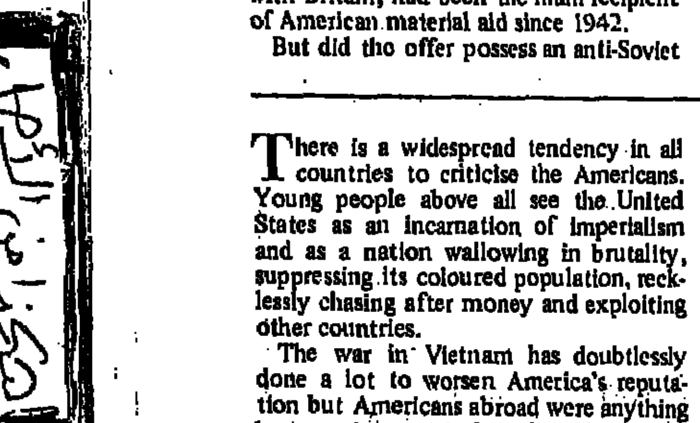
President Benes made the weak excuse that Czechoslovakia wanted to work together with both East and West. But the middle position was no longer possible and the liberty of Eastern Europe was lost for the foreseeable future.

Western Europe's liberty had been preserved. This was America's second great historical achievement after the double-victory in the war. Europeans are still called upon to uphold their freedom in alliance with the United States.

Lotahr Ruehl

(Die Welt, 5 June 1972)

Critics of America should bear in mind America's post-war aid



There is a widespread tendency in all countries to criticise the Americans. Young people above all see the United States as an incarnation of imperialism and as a nation wallowing in brutality, suppressing its coloured population, recklessly chasing after money and exploiting other countries.

The war in Vietnam has doubtlessly done a lot to worsen America's reputation but Americans abroad were anything but popular even before this. "Yanks, go home" was always a frequent cry.

Americans themselves may not be completely blameless as regards this aversion but another motive is no less potent – the envy and spite of smaller and weaker nations.

Like all other nations the Americans have their faults and their virtues. Today their weaknesses are attacked though nothing is said about their good points.

People have completely forgotten the unparalleled generosity and helpfulness of the Americans. British sociologist G. Gorer once wrote that in no other country in the world did the majority of inhabitants give so easily and so willingly, almost without considering the cost.

Americans generously donate money to any cause they consider worthy, Gorer stated, and this is not due to affluence alone. In many cases donation involved great personal sacrifice.

Americans have indeed done a lot to counter hardship and misery throughout the world. Of all industrial nations, they take up first place in the amount of aid they offer to developing countries

They also provide much money for the military protection of Europe. It was also the American with their Marshall plan who helped Europe to her feet again after the destruction, famine and ravages of the Second World War.

Even former enemies – the Germans and Italians – were included in this generous aid programme while the Russians mercilessly plundered the countries they occupied and annexed and tore up whole stretches of railway line in East Germany.

Now that young Socialist fanatics refer to the Americans only in terms of abuse and laud the Soviet Union to the skies, fairness and gratitude call for a reminder of the true state of affairs.

Speaking at Harvard University twenty-five years ago on 5 June 1947, American Secretary of State George C. Marshall first announced the aid programme that was later named after him.

Pointing to the disastrous situation in Europe, he stated, "It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world without which there can be not political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government to draw up unilaterally a programme designed to place Europe on its feet economically. That is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe."

The Americans thus laid the foundation stone for unity, economic cooperation and lastly the Common Market. Delegates from sixteen European countries met in Paris on 12 July 1947 and formed the Committee on European Economic Cooperation which later became the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation that finally grew into today's Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The Soviet Union had also been called upon to attend the conference but Moscow declined and forced other Eastern Bloc countries to refuse American aid they would have liked to harve and prevailed on them to stay away from the conference.

The sixteen Western European countries handed the American Foreign Minister their first extensive report on the most urgent measures requiring American aid in September 1947.

Between 1948 and 1952 the Americans raised thirteen thousand million dollars to be used within the framework of the Marshall Plan. Seventy per cent, or nine thousand million dollars, were written off from the very outset.

This was a real sacrifice even for an affluent country like the United States. Thirteen thousand million dollars made up an average eight per cent of the taxes paid to the American government at the time.

Even before Marshall Aid had begun the United States granted loans and gifts totalling almost twenty thousand million dollars to other countries between 1945 and 1948.

These included the GARIOA supplies (Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Areas), mainly food, seed-corn, medicaments and fuel, that Washington sent to those areas occupied by American troops.

West Germany received GARIOA supplies worth about 1,700 million dollars plus another 1,300 million dollars under Marshall Aid. Altogether this adds up to three thousand million dollars.

Only one thousand million dollars needed to be repaid and this was done in 1961 in advance of the agreed date. The Mark equivalent of the remaining two thousand million dollars formed the West

Continued on page 5

CRIME

The Baader-Meinhof story

Three members of the Baader-Meinhof group were arrested in Frankfurt on 1 June. Andreas Baader, 29, Holger Meins, 31, and Jan Karl Raspe, 27, surrendered to police after a building in which they were hiding was completely surrounded. Andreas Baader and a police officer were slightly wounded during the shotup that occurred when police rushed the building. Another member of the band, Gudrun Ensslin, 31, was arrested in a Hamburg boutique.

The Baader-Meinhof gang owes its name to Ulrike Meinhof, the 37-year-old former *konkret* columnist, and Andreas Baader, the 26-year-old extreme left-wing journalist.

Up to the end of the sixties Ulrike Meinhof was considered a lone extremist in the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition. She moved to Berlin in 1968 and wrote scripts for a number of socially critical films to be screened by television companies.

Andreas Baader first made a name for himself in April 1968 when he was arrested for the first time along with Gudrun Ensslin and Thorwald Proll for setting a department store in Frankfurt on fire out of political motives.

He hired Berlin lawyer Horst Mahler to defend him. After being sentenced to three years imprisonment, he was released from custody in June 1969 without having to begin his sentence.

Baader is reported to have been a member of the Socialist Students Union which was still active at the time. Mahler acted as legal adviser to it during student unrest in Berlin in the sixties.

West Berlin was the scene of a number of bomb attacks in 1968 and 1969. A number of carefully-planned bank robberies took place in 1969 and 1970 along with raids on town halls throughtout West Germany to gain possession of passes, documents and official stamps. Ulrike Meinhof, now the brains of the gang, seems to have participated in these raids.

The public prosecutor finally took notice of the well-organised gang on 14 May 1970 when Andreas Baader, who had been arrested again six weeks previously in Berlin, was rescued. The Berlin police arrested five members of the gang, including lawyer Horst Mahler, that October. All were armed.

Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher transferred the hunt for the Baader-Meinhof gang to the Federal Crime Bureau's Security Group on 28 January 1971.

There were a number of gun-battles between the gang and the police that same year. Several members of the gang were arrested. Petra Schelm was shot dead in August and Georg von Rauch, another member of the gang, in December during exchanges of fire.

Two policemen were killed – one in Hamburg in October and another during a bank raid in Kaiserslautern. A large number of police officials were seriously injured during these gun-battles.

Bomb attacks continued throughout the year. Gang-member Thomas Weisbecker was shot during an exchange of fire in Augsburg at the beginning of March 1972. In Hamburg a top police official was so seriously injured that he died from his wounds three weeks later.

Karl-Heinz Ruhland, who admitted to having been a member of the gang, gave the police exact information about the gang and their crimes in February and March 1972. Ruhland named a large number of sympathisers who provided the gang with hide-outs and help.

In May 1972 the "Red Army Faction", presumably consisting mainly of members of the decimated Baader-Meinhof gang, switched to a policy of terror and laid highly-explosive bombs.

An American lieutenant-colonel was killed by a bomb at the American Fifth Army headquarters on 11 May and the day afterwards bombs exploded at police headquarters in Augsburg and the crime bureau in Munich, causing serious damage.

A judge's car was destroyed in Karlsruhe on 15 May when a bomb that had been planted in it went off. The judge's wife who was in the car at the time was injured.

A large number of people were injured in Hamburg on 19 May when bombs exploded in Springer House, headquarters of the publishing concern.

Three Americans were killed on 24 May when bombs exploded at American Forces headquarters in Heidelberg.

Four days later the Red Army Faction announced that there would be three serious explosions in Stuttgart on 2 June.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 June 1972)

A police armoured car at the Frankfurt garage calling on Andreas Baader to surrender (Photo: dpa)

Interior Minister calls for stricter arms controls

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Twenty million fire-arms are estimated to be in circulation in West Germany at present. Two thirds of them are rifles while a third are revolvers and pistols. Under existing laws it is possible for a person of eighteen to buy even semi-automatic weapons without a gun permit.

Holders of gun licences and hunting permits are allowed to purchase unlimited quantities of short-barrelled weapons, including revolvers. It was stated recently in a Hamburg court that this law had led the holder of a hunting permit to acquire one thousand short-barrelled fire-arms and sell them illegally.

These and other shortcomings in the present law should be eliminated by a supplementary act concerning the possession and purchase of weapons. A Bundesrat (Upper House) Bill to this effect was submitted to the Bundestag last year. When accepted, the trade in fire-arms, their purchase and their use will be subject to new nationwide regulations.

Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher recent asked in a television interview whether the appropriate subcommittee of the Bundestag Home Affairs Committee could not be expected to deal with the Bill now instead of in October as is planned. The Police after all are having to do overtime to fight the soaring crime figures.

It is indeed high time that something constructive happened, however much that may worry the legal arms lobby and the illegal arms trade. It is important to find the right course between protecting public safety and ensuring individual freedom. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 June 1972)

Karlsruhe bureau publishes left-wing crime figures

Last year the Federal Republic suffered 555 acts of terror or violence or threats of violence of an extremist left-wing nature, according to a report on left-wing extremism now published by the Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution.

Compared with the 1970 figure of 563, the number of cases registered has remained almost the same but there has been a considerable increase in crimes of violence, such as attempted murder, robbery with violence, grievous bodily harm and wilful destruction.

Extreme left-wing forces concentrate their activities on schools, universities, trade unions and the public services. "But the security of the Federal Republic of Germany was not seriously threatened by them in 1971," the report states.

The report records ten attempted murders, 29 bomb attacks and forty cases of arson committed in 1971. Of the 288 crimes of violence, 53 involved grievous bodily harm and 76 wilful destruction. Among the 159 other crimes eight involved robbery with violence.

The 188 threats consisted of fifteen attempted murders and kidnappings, 158 warnings of bomb attacks or arson and fifteen other acts of violence.

Over one third of the acts of terror and violence were aimed against schools and universities, the report states. The rest were mainly aimed at law courts, police departments, large transport concerns, American installations and banks. Most of the acts of terror and violence took place in Berlin, Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia.

The Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution believes that it is mainly the small revolutionary terrorist groups and lone offenders who are responsible for

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

the politically-motivated acts of terror and serious criminal cases. The report also deals with the ideological motives for acts of terror and violence. It concludes that all groups belonging to the New Left still agree that the existing social order in West Germany can only be overthrown by violent means.

The term New Left includes ideological tendencies, organisational developments and activities of those Communist (Marxist, Trotskyist and Leninist) and other extremist groups that do not follow the Moscow line.

These groups give different reasons for employing violence as a political means and they also vary in their views about when force should be applied.

Most of the New Left groups that appear openly do not believe the time is yet ripe to start a revolution and therefore reject individual acts of terror and violence in the present phase. Only a few anarchist groups believe that the time for revolution has come and advocate armed battle.

Last year there were some 390 extreme left-wing organisations with about 89,000 members in West Germany and West Berlin, the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution claims.

The West German Communist Party raised its membership to 34,000. The extreme New Left remained disorganised and relations with orthodox Communists were strained.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 June 1972)

Continued from page 4

German government's special European Recovery Programme fund.

This is still used today to provide credits for measures calculated to aid the West German economy. Part of West Germany's development aid programme is paid from it and the fund has been a constant source of help to West Berlin's industry. The beneficial effects of the Marshall Plan can still be felt today, twenty-five years after it was first announced.

But the Americans have not only given us the Marshall Plan. They have, as has already been mentioned, contributed to the economic and political unification of Europe.

By actively supporting the European Currency Union, they helped European currencies become freely convertible. It was America that provided the main initiative for the establishment of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. All this created the basis for a mighty upsurge in world trade.

America's high balance of payment deficits cause us much annoyance and difficulty today but we should always remember how much the Americans have done for Europe since the Second World War.

Today's grumblers and fault-finders who make out America to be the big bogey-man appear shabby in face of such generosity and willingness to help. The generous American must not be forgotten.

Hans Roeper

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 June 1972)

■ LABOUR RELATIONS

Minorities pose problems in works council elections

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Trade unions are happy – the high turnout at the 1968 council elections seems to have been improved upon throughout all branches of industry. The increased right of access to factories that unions enjoy under the new law governing industrial relations seems to have paid off.

Employers no longer complained about the previously much-disputed reform. There was little controversy about the increase of agitation during election campaigns in the factories.

Now that the elections are over, observers gain the impression that a consolidated trade union bloc stands on the one side with employers on the other – and employers are happy deep down about their relationship of trust with their opponents.

The voting in the factories shows the extent to which workers are contented with trade union officials and their own representatives. At the same time it is a test for the splinter unions and those people not organised in trade unions – the taggers-along trade union leaders scorn when concluding pay deals.

The Metalworkers Union has increased its share of the vote from the 1968 figure of 82.6 per cent to 87.5 per cent and has been able to make inroads into the vote of its rivals. The unorganised vote is now about ten per cent compared with 13.4 per cent in 1968 and the White-Collar Workers Union has had its vote cut from 3.4 per cent to about two per cent.

The Chemical Workers Union increased its share of the vote from 87 to 89 per cent while the unorganised members in this branch lost a considerable proportion of its 9.9 per cent share of the 1968 vote.

The situation is similar with the Leatherworkers Trade Union and in other branches. The Mineworkers Unionholds the record proportion of works council seats with 95.4 per cent.

We shall soon know whether the unions affiliated to the Trades Union Confederation (DGB) have been able to improve upon their dominant position in the Printers Union and in the service industry sector though these are traditionally the domain of the White-Collar Workers Union and the unorganised members.

Despite this impressive display by the DGB, there are also signs that this unified front is liable to fall apart. Rivalry within the union is resulting in splinter groups which attract a large number of voters.

The 25 seats the Chemical Workers Union gained on the 43-man works council of Hoechst were enough to ensure them of an absolute majority but a group that had split with the union gained six seats.

At Bayers, Leverkusen, the Chemicalworkers Union was able to extend its previously wafer-thin majority by gaining 29 seats compared with the eight seats of an independent worker organisation and the seven seats of independent white-collar workers.

At BASF in Ludwigshafen the Chemicalworkers Union dominated the poll, gaining 49 of the possible 59 seats. But a Christian Social workers group still gained eight seats.

On the whole, the Christian Trades Union Movement rarely gained more than 0.5 or one per cent of the votes so it can be looked upon as a success when the Christian Metalworkers Association gained three seats at the Krupp works in Rheinhausen compared with 29 seats gained by the Metalworkers Union and one by the White-Collar Workers Union.

DGB leaders saw the danger that greater involvement by the political parties in factories could threaten their dominant position. DGB headquarters in Düsseldorf also warned the SPD executive against continuing the fight of the Social Democratic factory groups against the Communists at the cost of trades union solidarity.

The Metalworkers Union for instance did not feel it should place Communist candidates low down the polling list where they would have little chance of being elected on to the works council as many Social Democratic factory groups suggested.

The outcome is that the Communists have been able to increase their number of seats in many works councils. They were able to increase their representation from three to seven seats in the Hoesch concern's Dortmund steelworks.

Communists were also able to improve their position within the Rheinstahl concern. In the Mülheim branch they gained four of the sixteen seats despite the intense Social Democratic campaign against them. In the Duisburg branch Lukrawka, a member of the Communist Party executive, remained head of the works council.

But the situation varied wildly in one mining concern. No Communist is to be found among the Metalworkers Union's members on the works council at the August Thyssen works in Duisburg, West Germany's largest steelworks. However one Communist and a number of Communist sympathisers are to be found on the works council of the Thyssen works in Hüttenheim, a Duisburg suburb.

Both Social Democrats and Communists must be rather annoyed about what happened in the Opel works at Bochum. Five extreme Marxist-Leninists were elected to the works council along with 28 Metalworkers Union representatives despite the fact that nobody had given them a chance because of their wild agitation. The employers are glad that this was an isolated occurrence. They are happy to stick with the old Communist representatives they have known so long.

An important factor in the elections was the problem of foreign workers. New laws governing industrial relations gave them the right to vote and the right to stand in elections to work councils but most of them remain excluded from decision-making despite the fact that many of them are union members.

Three of the 36 Metalworkers Union representatives at Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart are foreign workers but only one Turk was elected at Ford's of Cologne despite the fact that a third of the labour force is Turkish.

Although a member of the Metalworkers Union, he campaigned independently and gained over five thousand votes compared with the nine thousand the Metalworkers Union received. But he could only occupy one seat on the works council as he had not named any further candidates.

Ignorance of the laws governing industrial relations means that foreigners are at a disadvantage. Because of his independent action the Turk has not been released from work by fellow trade-unionists to attend meetings of the works council. That smacks of revenge. It is a bad example that must not be copied.

Friedrich Kassebeer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 May 1972)

Social Services costs
In milliard Marks

	1971 Total 191.3	1976 Estimated 291.7
Health	61.2	91.2
Pensions	43.9	73.1
Family allowances and housing	41.3	60.4
Dependents	21.5	34.2
Others	23.4	32.8
in percentages of the total applied to the Social Services	25.3	26.4

Kluncker calls for social change

Heinz Kluncker, head of the Transport and Public Service Workers Union (ÖTV), demanded social change as a condition for improving the position of the worker at the seventh DGB congress in West Berlin.

Referring to Basic Law, Kluncker stated that his demand was intended to achieve the aim of social democracy. "Social democracy is for us," he added, "a democracy in which society as a whole is not sacrificed to the interests of a small minority of owners or State officials. It is a democracy in which the ownership of the means of production and ownership of land involves social obligations and therefore serves the interests of society as a whole."

Although Kluncker praised the SPD-FDP government for its foreign and social services policies, he made a number of harsh criticisms and stated his justified discontent.

His attacks ranged from "the irresponsible delay on the part of a complaisant Economic Affairs and Finance Minister and a new and progressive personnel representation law on the administration of Concerted Action – the industrial cooperation scheme between government, employers and employees – to the urgent reforms needed to modernise the public services".

"We are not prepared to sit back and accept price rises as we have been expected to for the past two years," Kluncker added.

Kluncker repeated the ÖTV demand for new regulations govering public service employees. Public service workers should be granted the right to negotiate and the right to strike, he said.

Kluncker accepted the restrictions of the public service worker's right of strike but, he said, these limits must be defined and fixed by the public service worker himself. The police, fire brigade and armed forces had already done this.

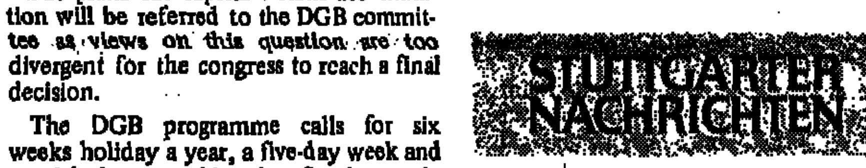
Kluncker accused Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a Free Democrat, as well as the majority of the CDU/CSU and some Social Democrats of opposing these demands.

In view of the Trades Union Confederation (DGB) Congress to take place in Berlin at the end of June, Kluncker repeated his demand for taking stock of the position of the DGB and its trade unions.

Negotiations for the entry of the Police Trade Union and the White-Collar Workers Union into the DGB should be pursued more thoroughly than they had been in the past. *Rolf Fischer*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 May 1972)

Unions call for more equitable distribution of wealth



A new programme will be the main item on the agenda of the Trade Union Confederation (DGB) congress in Berlin from 25 June to 1 July.

But plans for capital wealth accumulation will be referred to the DGB committee as views on this question are too divergent for the congress to reach a final decision.

The DGB programme calls for six weeks holiday a year, a five-day week and an eight-hour working day. Sunday working is to be curtailed as much as possible and workers in particularly hard jobs or in industries posing a risk to health will have additional holidays.

The programme also calls for an annual bonus amounting to a worker's monthly wage and additional holiday money for all employees. Social contributions on the part of the employer are to be guaranteed by contract or law.

On the subject of social insurance, the DGB programme proposes the abolition of a compulsory limit in sickness insurance, an extension to preventive health schemes and a joint, independent and subsidised medical service for sickness, pensions and unemployment insurance.

Unemployment benefit should total two thirds of the last working income and pensions should normally amount to three quarters of the last working income. The DGB wants all workers to be able to retire at sixty if they wish.

Worker participation on the factory floor, in factory administration, in the concern and in the economy as a whole is called for by the DGB as an extension to political democracy. All large concerns should have supervisory boards consisting of worker and management representatives in equal proportions.

Referring to the distribution of wealth, the DGB demands they employees should participate in productive wealth through a share in the profits of industry as a whole.

The workers' share in the growth of capital wealth should at first amount to four to six thousand million Marks a year. This money would be invested in stock that does not compete with each other.

Certificates bearing interest could be issued to all workers earning a taxable income of under 24,000 Marks for single persons and 48,000 for married people. The scheme would be administered by the workers themselves in the public interest.

Two alternatives have been suggested in answer to the question of if and when the holders could cash their certificates. Certificates would either be exchangeable for cash in exceptional cases or they would be handled on the stock exchange after a period of ten years. *Hanns Meenzen*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 31 May 1972)



■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

As economy bucks up inflation merry-go-round picks up speed

West Germany's economy once again has the wind in its sails. Before the country has completely mastered the unwanted after-effects of the last boom the next upward trend is well under way. There has been little or no breathing space in between.

At command base in Bonn the signs of instability, which the new economic high is expected to bring with it are being carefully measured so that the ballast can be shifted as necessary. Bonn has had to revise the predictions made in the annual economic report. They now state that for the private individual the cost of living will rise by 5.2 per cent and not by the predicted figure of "just" 4.5 per cent.

This increase if it comes about will be just as high as last year's. And some economic experts reckon that the actual rise this year will be over the six-per-cent level. Following the slight slowdown in the rate of inflation in the past few months the pendulum seems to be swinging back.

So the economic landscape has changed of a sudden. When describing its present State of business, industry still tends to paint a black picture. They are having to explain away cuts in dividends to small shareholders at a time when the news is of an economic revival.

Once again the economic scene is being dominated by increasing demand at home and abroad, a comfortable backlog of orders to be made up, lengthening delivery dates, overtime and lack of personnel. However, in some sectors or sub-sectors of the economy this springtime has not yet arrived.

It is easy to foresee that the price policy of both private and public companies as well as the wage and salary scales that have still to be hammered out will be affected by this change in climate. The inflationary round has started again. The merry-go-round is picking up speed.

Bonn is apparently taking it all calmly. In the past few months their attentions have been directed almost exclusively to foreign policy and now of course they have had to think about their own backyard. So constricted is their room for manoeuvre that there is a possibility of a general election being called this autumn, a year early.

In the present situation there is no possibility of vote-catching promises with regard to finance and the economy. Both camps know that we must draw in our belts even tighter. Effective economic steerage by the guardians of public money is only possible on the income side of the budget, according to the economic research institutes. This means in other words – higher taxes.

Discussion of this matter has become heated in the past few days as renowned bankers have come out with their opinions. Their call for an increase of income taxes and corporation tax – ten per cent was mentioned – stems from the conviction that the spending power pushing prices up must be cut back.

In June the cornucopia of four milliard Marks filled by Professor Schiller's temporary ten-per-cent tax surcharge will be emptied out on the waiting public. And this comes at a time when there is talk of essential tax increases. It is just eyewash for Bonn to claim that most of this money will be put aside for a rainy day or spent on holidays abroad, thus having no effect on this country's economy.

Neither side is prepared to lay its cards on the table though both sides must be agreed that the tax screw must be applied harder. There are two motivations. There is scarcely any secret about the fact that in the long run the tax burden must be increased. But at the moment alterations to taxation are concerned with course corrections of the fiscal rudder.

This implies from the outset that a time limit should be imposed on the taxes and they should not be made available for additional public spending. It is up to Bonn to set an example. The same standards that are applied to private spending must be applied to the budget of 1972. A lot of thinning out is required.

Werner Neitzel

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 May 1972)

Civil Service salaries bill
Payments in 1971 in milliard Marks

	Payments	
Central government	101.1	17.2
State government	85.1	35.6
Local governments	68.1	17.5

Rising prices
1971 price increases compared with 1970 in %

Foodstuffs		Service Industries		Other expenses	
Vegetables	0.3	Car repairs	16.6	Shoes	10.0
Meat and meat products	0.5	Laundry and dry cleaning	9.8	Medicines	6.5
Luxuries	1.7	Transport	6.3	Gas, electricity and power	6.4
Milk, butter and cheese	7.5	Hairdressing	5.9	Household goods	5.8
Fish and fish products	7.6	Rent	5.9	Education and leisure	5.4
Bread and cakes	7.9			Clothes	5.3
Fruit	9.1				
Eggs	11.3				

Bundesbank tries to neutralise effect of tax rebate

Nordwest-Zeitung

The guessing game of the past few days about the Bundesbank's attitude to the credit situation at the present time is over. At its meeting on 31 May, which for a change did not take place at its Frankfurt HQ but in Berlin the Central Bank Committee decided that once again cash should be harder to come by.

They did not decide to alter Bank Rate, which stays at three per cent, but they did increase the required minimum reserves at banks by eight per cent and cut the rediscount quota, that is to say the facility of finance houses to increase their cash available for lending by selling foreign exchange to the Bundesbank. The cut was ten per cent. These decisions take effect from 1 July.

To judge the portent of these decisions the date 1 July is important. The Bundesbank, for the time being at least, does not intend to limit the amount of money in circulation and send interest rates soaring. They have already started to rise owing to the high demand for capital on the market in fixed-interest securities.

Their decision aims far more, as Karl Klasen pointed out after the meeting, at preventing the total amount of money in circulation rising astronomically as a result of the repayment of the 1970 temporary tax surcharge and creating the kind of expansion that could be detrimental to stability.

The measures annouced will not by themselves be sufficient to achieve this effect. Their effect will not neutralise the 5,900 million Marks coming back into circulation from the tax rebate.

Bundesbank President Klasen feels these moves will withdraw about 4,500 million Marks from circulation. So all the Bundesbank has done is to neutralise the effect of this tax rebate, which Klasen feels has come at the wrong time in the light of the rate of inflation at present.

It is not expected that the Bundesbank will take further steps to check credit unless and until Karl Schiller is shown to have failed to create greater stability by his budget cuts. *Dr Klaus Kemper*

(Nordwest Zeitung, 1 June 1972)

Schiller's budget amendments arouse opposition

If Professor Schiller calls on the various government departments to make drastic cuts in the budgeting for 1972 he will have the backing of a resolution by the SPD/FDP coalition which has been presented to the Bundestag. In this resolution signed by Herbert Wehner and Wolfgang Mischnik among others the proposal is made that the government should reduce the burden of new debts incurred by 1,300 million Marks to a total of 6,000 million. In addition the government should, it is proposed, urge state and local governments to make similar cuts, if necessary implementing economic stabilisation legislation.

This resolution dates back to the speech made by Schiller at the second reading of the draft budget which was broken off. The relevant passage has since become a historical document. It brought home to everybody for the first time the financial plight facing the government. It stated what would have to be done.

The government has made Schiller's intentions its own, obviously without being fully aware of what they involve. It is extremely difficult to cut one, two or even three milliard Marks from a budget touching 110 miliard. This budget is calculated very precisely, the lion's share of expenditure being required by law, the room for manoeuvre being slight.

The draft budget has been blocked for economic reasons.

Schiller's pencil will strike at many sore spots. The Defence Ministry will have to go without 800 million Marks, according to his plans, Klaus von Dohnanyi will lose 320 million Marks, Georg Leber 440 million and Josef Ertl 200 million Marks.

For the most part the missing millions will be money that would have been invested, that is to say money that in the long run would have borne fruit. Money that would have financed reforms.

Schiller has not exactly made his bargaining position easier by presenting a spectacular statement to the Cabinet that immediately became public and by striking straight away at middle-term financial planning with the result that the belt will have to be drawn in even tighter between now and 1976 than was necessary in the 1972 budget.

In these plans the same departments already hit would have to suffer the greatest cuts in their grants. However much Schiller's actions deserve approval the methods he has employed show once again the same arrogance that has damaged his cause in the past. *Heinz Murmann*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 4 June 1972)

Exports still thrive despite revaluation

Hannoversche Allgemeine

How seriously should statements by leading economic experts be taken when they hold responsible positions in major companies or industrial organisations? Up to the recent past these experts have been dismally forecasting the collapse of this coutry's exporting industries as a result of the international currency crisis and the resultant revaluation of the Mark. These dismal jimmies were still full of gloom at the Hanover Fair, just a few weeks ago.

Now the foreign trade figures for April and for the first four months of this year as a whole are available. They show that exports increased by five per cent up till the end of April and that the balance of trade surplus was about 5,900 million Marks as opposed to only 4,700 million in the same period of 1971.

Thus there is no question of stagnating exports let alone a decline in export activities. Nor is this promising situation for exporting industries undermined greatly if the factor of price increases is wiped off the slate. There has been real growth.

Not that overseas trade has been sheer joy for many firms. They have had to struggle, particularly as exports do not tend to boost profits to such a great extent. But industrialists are everlastingly doling out the threat that redundancy may be round the corner. Revaluation, they claimed, would close the export tap and lead to unemployment. This has certainly not been the case.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 May 1972)

■ DRUPA

Computerisation emphasised at printing trade fair

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Printing is progressing from a trade to an industry increasingly swiftly and systematically, as is apparent at Drupa, the Düsseldorf international printing and paper trades fair.

Automation and electronics have come to be a matter of course in the print, though level-headed specialists continually emphasise that automation cannot be considered an end in itself and only makes sense when printing processes are genuinely more economic and safer as a result and the quality of the finished product better and more consistent.

In view of a continual shortage of labour the printing trade particularly needs machinery and equipment that is easy to operate.

In addition to recent developments that have already been put into day-to-day practice Drupa exhibits also include many techniques that are still at the experimental stage. Technological progress is gaining impetus in the printing trade.

This, as one manufacturer points out in a brochure, makes investment decisions increasingly difficult but the printing industry must learn to live with the fact that investment periods are growing steadily shorter as the pace of development increases.

Despite frequent changes, though, the printer's art, an increasingly colourful one, has remained an art, the only difference being that increasingly progressive techniques are continually being introduced and increasing precision coming to be the hallmark of the trade.

A model example of printing automation is provided by the late seventies' generation of offset machinery boasting remote-control colour-zoning and register and automatic hygrostat and self-inking. The controls are all operated from a central desk.

Special ranges of equipment are also available for special purposes such as works data compilation and computerised production control. Intensive measurement and checking is part and parcel of industrial printing techniques.

In preparation for repro work scanners are the latest development, the aim being to make quality foolproof.

There can be little doubt after a visit to Drupa that the breakthrough to industrial printing has been achieved. Computerised print forms part of the trend. Magnetic tape that prints out justified material according to prearranged syllable division-programmes is unquestionably a step in the direction of mass production.

Punched-tape print is nothing new yet even specialists at this year's Drupa were amazed at the improvements that have been made to this technique. Corrections can be made so easily.

Computer printing may have overcome its teething but it is by no means always an economic proposition and not always the ideal technique. In common with all other new techniques computerisation must be carefully costed before a decision is taken. Printers at Drupa were all agreed that by no means every move has been made to achieve maximum productivity, particularly in conventional lead, Photographic, chemical and electronic processes may be gaining ground fast but conventional lead has by far from been ousted. In the long term, it was felt at Düsseldorf, the one technique will complement the other. Conventional print will continue to reign supreme in the news sections of newspapers. When the news is hot there is as yet nothing to beat it.

Other processes are particularly suited to industrialisation and computerisation, up to and including electronic printing, in which letters and figures are dissected into narrow lines in close and parallel series comparable with the lines on a TV screen.



Correcterm — a screen and correction system

(Photo: NOWE\

These lines are stored as electro[nic] codes and can be summoned as requi[red] to make up print on the screen [of a] cathode ray tube.

Electronics in printing has also reac[hed] the stage of correction terminals [and] closed-circuit subbing devices. These ar[e a] variation on the principle of data-readi[ng]

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■ AUTOMOBILES

5,000 worked on VW's safety car

For years a team of 5,000, including 700 engineers and 1,500 technicians, have been working in virtual isolation from the outside world at the Wolfsburg research and development centre of Volkswagen, headed temporarily since March this year by Professor Ernst Fiala, ex-head of the department of motor vehicle technology at West Berlin Technical University.

With a matter of hours to go before the unveiling of the Volkswagen safety car at Transpo and the third world safety congress in Washington VW of Wolfsburg lifted the veil of R & D secrecy a little and gave motoring correspondents a glimpse of a number of design tit-bits.

Volkswagen have been involved on their own behalf in the development of an experimental safety vehicle prototype since autumn 1970.

The European safety car, designed to weigh roughly a ton unladen and to withstand a head-on collision at fifty miles an hour and turning turtle at 65 miles an hour, is based on detailed specifications published in booklet form.

Let it be noted from the start that despite allegations to the contrary there has never been the slightest intention of manufacturing the prototype in a long run. Prototype experimental safety vehicles, designed to fulfil maximum requirements in direct and indirect safety, are merely intended to come up with ideas.

One or other of them may then come to have repercussions on the cars that actually do run off the assembly lines but that is another matter altogether. As a standard model the ESV is a non-starter because it is too expensive both to buy and to run.

The four-door, four-seater Volkswagen ESV, weighing 1,360 kg (3,000 lb) and sporting bumpers integrated into the car body creates a first-rate impression.

It is slightly wedge-shaped and similar in size to the NSU Ro 80. The ESV boasts an electronic anti-block system but what is even more interesting is the claim that it fulfils the safety specifications for both front- and rear-mounted engines.

When the engine is mounted at the rear there has admittedly to be a "dumb co-pilot" to ensure automatic track correction in side wind.

Volkswagen thus admit that there is no one construction principle that is ideal in all conditions. The height of seats, steering and pedals can be adjusted. Seat-backs are non-adjusting but flexible enough to absorb thrust on impact.

The ESV's bumpers are fitted out with hydraulic shock-absorbers in order to guarantee a constant delay factor all along the line.

In other respects the safety car has been designed to be as near in construction to current models as possible and the engine, for instance, is a modified 100-horse-power version of the engine of the Volkswagen 411.

As for the problem as to whether to opt for the air bag or for safety belts Volkswagen have plumped for fully automatic shoulder and knee belts.

The air bag is one of the most controversial of the so-called passive safety measures the Americans have declared mandatory for all vehicles sold in the United States from August 1975 on.

What it amounts to in principle is that in the event of a collision air bags inflate automatically from steering column, glove compartment and backrests of the front seats within thirty milliseconds of impact and deflate 150 milliseconds later, their purpose being to envelop the driver and passengers and ensure as far as possible that they come to no serious harm.



Volkswagen's safety vehicle

(Photo: Volkswagenwerk AG)

This is all well and good but trials have proved that the air bag inflates with a bang like a pistol shot and deflates so fast that it can hardly provide the slightest protection from the consequences of a secondary collision.

This, then, means that the air bag only makes sense in combination with safety belts. On no account is it a matter of having or being able to make a choice between one or the other.

Besides, the complex air bag system requires electronic circuit controls in the micro-amp sphere that are independent of the car battery.

What is more, it has to have a life span of ten years, be 99.99 per cent reliable and function at temperatures of between minus forty and plus 75 degrees centigrade.

The air bag has been developed for people weighing approximately 165 lb. On the one hand it must not be triggered off in the course of a parking manoeuvre, on the other it must not refuse to respond until a furious head-on collision.

What happens, though, if the "co-driver" is a child or the driver a pipe-smoker? One question follows hard on the heels of another. They all add up to the whole idea being questionable.

This is why Wolfsburg has opted for a comfortable system of belts involving

Frankfurter Rundschau

fully automatic shoulder and knee belts. As soon as the driver switches the engine on the belts swing into action.

The shoulder belt, incidentally, is not made of the usual webbing; it is round and rigid. The knee belt is housed under the dashboard and is not shot into position until the moment of impact.

Volkswagen have been working on gas turbines too since 1964. Turbines are an interesting proposition because combustion is continuous, there are few toxic fumes and not much in the way of exhaust anyway.

Trials with small passenger vehicles and delivery vans are reported to have been quite satisfactory but the high level of nitrous oxide emitted remains a problem. Gas turbine engines are also too expensive to manufacture in comparison with conventional combustion engines.

Volkswagen's experimental gas turbine does not vibrate at all, as trial runs in a Volkswagen transporter showed, but in acceleration it sounds like a miniature jet.

It was developed in conjunction with an American firm, generates seventy horse power and can be powered by a variety of fuels, including lead-free petrol, but is still roughly twice as expensive to manufacture as a conventional piston engine.

Environmental protection pundits have long since dreamt of the ideal motor car as being noiseless and free from exhaust fumes like a refrigerator.

In conjunction with Bosch, Varta and Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk the Volkswagen electric delivery van powered by conventional lead batteries has been developed.

Lead batteries continue to be too heavy and to store too little energy but maybe they still stand a chance in built-up areas and over short distances provided a refined system of battery changes makes it possible to take on more power in not much more time than it takes to stop off at a filling station at present to take on a few gallons of petrol.

Electric cars are still restricted in their range. The Volkswagen transporter develops 32 kilowatts at 6,700 revs, reaches a maximum speed of 75 kilometres an hour (42 mph) and covers between fifty and 100 kilometres with one full set of batteries.

With this particular model insertion of new batteries at a right angle to the longitudinal axis presents no problems. At present the vehicle has a maximum payload of 500 kilogrammes but it is hoped to increase this to 800 kg before long.

Provided the electricity board plays ball and a sufficient number of "filling stations" are made available in the test town Volkswagen may increase the ten to twenty experimental vehicles on its roads to 200 from next year but one.

The electric van has accelerator and brake pedals and emits no exhaust fumes whatsoever. The only handicap at present is the price of a set of batteries – approximately 6,000 Marks.

Trials, then, are part and parcel of the day-to-day operations of a motor manufacturer. Doors, bonnets and the like are subjected to test-bed trials under extreme conditions. Roofs are destroyed, dashboards deformed, steering columns twisted and test "dolls" catapulted against surfaces and corners in order to conduct slow-motion studies of what would be the ideal interior design.

Lead weights are swung from side to side to test bumpers and simulate side-on crashes. Fuel tanks are put to the test under extreme conditions. Destruction for the sake of greater safety reigns more supreme than ever before.

A good thing it is, too, for the beneficiaries are, in the final analysis, the people who use cars. *Eberhard Seifert*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 June 1972)

No solution yet to reduce cost of electric cars

The environmentally irreproachable, noiseless and exhaust-free electric car will doubtless be some time coming. Despite progress it is still too expensive to buy and to run to stand an immediate chance of running off the assembly lines as the town car par excellence.

GES, a subsidiary of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk of Essen, has concluded in a study of the electric car's prospects that at present it costs between 80 and 130 per cent more than conventional motor vehicles and even in a long run would cost twenty per cent more.

Even a smooth cruise around town would be seventeen per cent more expensive than the noise and stench of conventional traffic. Important contributory factors to this lack of economy are the costly non-ferrous metals in the motor and the design reinforcements necessitated by the heavy batteries.

In a van capable of conveying a one-ton payload the additional weight in relation to a conventionally-powered vehicle amounts to more than the one ton of the payload, according to the GES report.

Always assuming the new means of propulsion catches on to a sufficient extent the GES estimates the running costs per kilometre for an electric van to amount to thirteen pfennigs as against 8.4 pfennigs for a comparable conventional van using fourteen litres of petrol per hundred kilometres (twenty miles per gallon).

These relatively expensive running costs are attributable to the cost of batteries and a further 800 Marks for recharging equipment. Were it merely a matter of electric power the electric van would cost a modest 2.7 pfennigs a kilometre to run.

The electric motor fares better when servicing is taken into account. It needs neither oil changes and new sparking plugs nor other periodic replacements. Electric motors are also claimed to have a far higher life span by virtue of the fact that there is less wear and tear.

A number of domestic motor manufacturers and consortia are currently engaged in work on electric propulsion. Daimler-Benz, Volkswagen, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Hanomag-Henschel are all putting prototypes through their paces.

All of them have one crucial drawback. They may be capable of tolerable speeds of between thirty and fifty miles an hour but their range is roughly the same on one set of batteries.

The industry does not reckon on producing super-batteries capable of covering distances of up to nearly 100 miles for the next ten years or so.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 May 1972)

Continued from page 8

devices and flash matter on to a screen for optical scrutiny.

The monitor screen is coming to be the essential link between text and print. All conventional forms of correction, including additions and deletions, can be carried out with the aid of terminals.

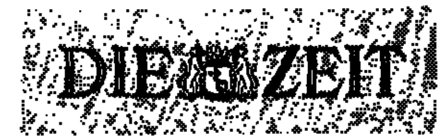
Foremost among the electronic processes on exhibit at Drupa is the OCR procedure, better known as the reading machine. With the aid of this combination of electronics and optics typewritten matter is prepared for computer or printing simply, exactly and at low cost. Corrections are also automatically made.

Even laser beams are coming into their own in the printing industry. Laser facsimile equipment, for instance, is capable of reproducing entire newspaper pages. Increasing attention is being paid to developments in laser printing.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 May 1972)

■ THE THEATRE

More imagination needed in presenting the performing arts



"It is not enough to take care of physical health and ignore mental mobility. In the end that would result in a race of completely healthy, fully-motorised Neanderthals," Heinz-Winfried Sabais, Mayor of Darmstadt and President of the West German Theatre Association, stated at the beginning of the year as a warning against the consequences of allowing the West German theatre to go to rack and ruin.

Attempts by many local authorities to build swimming baths, kindergartens, roads and underground railways instead of cultural institutions such as theatres represented a serious threat to society's spiritual development, he claimed.

Sabais is not the only person to think along these lines. Warnings are increasing to the same extent as the theatre is being put into question financially and intellectually.

Bernhard Tacke, deputy chairman of the Trades Union Confederation, stated at the beginning of March that the further drop in the numbers of theatres and orchestras was evidence of the incapacity of our cultural policies.

The same month the Confederation of West German Popular Theatre Associations warned against an over-hasty restriction on cultural expenditure as this could have an irreparable effect.

Reasons for such claims and complaints appear in newspapers almost every day. Schleswig-Holsteins's government has cut theatre subsidies by two and a half million Marks, the city of Oberhausen wishes to cut the subsidy to its theatre radically from 6,5 million to four million Marks from 1973 onwards and limit the repertoire to operetta and children's theatre.

Representatives of eleven Bavarian cities with theatres told Prime Minister Alfons Goppel that their companies had reached the limit of their financial capabilities.

There has been no shortage of examples recently.. Is the West German theatre therefore facing bankruptcy?

At present the Federal Republic posses-ses 194 mainly publicly-owned theatres with some 24,000 staff and 130,000 seats. These theatres are found in 77 towns and cities. A little more than half, in fact exactly one hundred, are in cities of between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants.

But there are still 48 theatres in smaller towns numbering between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. North Rhine-Westphalia is the Federal state with most theatres — 46 — followed by Bavaria with 33 and Baden-Württemberg with 29.

Apart from the state and municipal theatres, there are twelve concerns organising festivals and 71 private theatres, most of which have to finance themselves on takings, donations and negligible public subsidies.

Most publicly-owned theatres are financed from the taxpayer's money. Altogether they spent some 728 million Marks during the 1970-71 season, or 0.1 per cent of the West German gross national product in 1970.

Almost a quarter of this amount came from the theatres' own takings — ticket sales, subscriptions, programmes, advertising revenue, radio and television rights.

Ticket sales brought most income — 25.2 per cent of it in fact. Subscriptions take up second place followed by the amount paid by theatregoer's organisations to reserve seats for their members on fixed dates.

But the average figures do not say much about the position of individual theatres. The ratio between takings and subsidies varies wildly. Takings only make up 15.1 per cent of the 36.9 million Mark budget of Berlin's Deutsche Oper, that makes it the financial star of all German theatres followed by Hamburg State Opera, the Bavarian State Opera and the municipal theatres in Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Cologne.

Wuppertal Theatre covers 19.8. per cent of its expenditure through takings, Hamburg State Opera 23.6. per cent and Mannheim National Theatre, with takings of 3.8 million Marks last season, 23 per cent.

Comparative statistics for the years 1949 to 1968 show that the proportion of expenditure covered by the theatres' own takings has dropped continually during the past fifteen years.

Takings made up forty per cent of expenditure in 1957, a post-war record, though this dropped to 30.2 per cent by 1965 and 23.1 per cent in the 1970—1971 season.

The amount of subsidy paid for each theatre-goer on the other hand increased steadily. In 1956 every visitor to an opera, operetta or play knew that his seat was subsidised to the extent of 6.15 Marks. By 1963 this figure had already risen to 12.89 Marks and today every theatre-goer receives an indirect subsidy of 27.41 Marks. The amount of subsidy paid for each theatre-goer has almost doubled in the past seven years.

Subsidies totalled 560 million Marks last season. More than half this sum was raised by local authorities. Other money came from the Federal states, the government, local districts, broadcasting company profits and lotteries.

The reason politicians approved subsidies of this amount despite growing financial problems is not due to the theatre's political influence but an automatic process that not even those politicians demanding cuts in the financial budget are able to counter.

Theatres, even more so than museums, spend most of their money on staff and these costs are rising all time. Last season they made up 75 per cent of total expenditure. This means that West German theatres spend about 550 million Marks on fees, wages and salaries.

Anyone who has never seen what goes on behind and above stage would think that staff costs only involve artistes' fees and salaries. The fact that they only make up a little more than half the total staff expenditure shows how many people theatre companies employ. Numerically speaking, there are far more non-artistes such as stage technicians and administrative staff than artistes.

Drama, ranging from farce to Shakeapearian tragedy, is the most widespread genre on West German stages, amounting to almost two thirds of all performances in the 1971—1972 season. Opera follows with about twenty per cent and operetta with over ten per cent.

But the picture is different when looking at Theatre Association statistics on how many theatre-goers attended performances of the various genres. Only half the 17.5 million theatregoers in the 1970- 1971 season went to see a play.

Thirty per cent went to see an opera and fourteen per cent to see an operetta, a genre that is particularly popular in small towns. Music is still an attraction here, there can be no doubt of that.

Seating capacity is considerably larger than public interest. Only three quarters of the performances in the 1970-1971 season attracted a full house. But coming to the simple conclusion — as critics of theatre subsidies do — that a quarter of the theatres or a quarter of the performances should be abolished is solving a complicated problem by the means of meaningless percentages

A number of examples show the complexity of the situation. While 75 per cent of the opera performances in Augsburg played to full houses, the figure for operettas was 82 per cent and for plays 63 per cent. The ratio in Bonn was 95:96:90, in Mannheim 82:92:74 and in Frankfurt 72:81:79.

It is impossible to point out a generally valid trend for all theatres but one thing cannot be ignored — the poor use of capacity, in other words the lack of response among the public, weakens the theatres' position in their battle for more public subsidies. Success is still the best argument.

Local authorities are in debt anyway and will be as far into the future as forecasts reach. They will therefore think twice about granting theatre subsidies. This will threaten the existence of a number of small theatres and the artistic independence of large theatres.

Of course there are a number of theatre experts who claim that the financial bottleneck should prompt the long overdue reforms Heinz-Winfried Sabais noted recently: "The theatre as it now stands is still the product of the nineteenth century. Its operations must be pruned."

Hamburg actor Gert Schaefer demands: "Theatres today must put more imagination and creativity into their sales promotion as well as their artistic production. The old-style provincial municipal theatre has no future prospects." *Heidi Dürr*

(Die Zeit, 26 May 1972)

Ruhr theatres plan for the future

"Human nature cannot beat the uninterrupted and eternal torment of business," Schiller once said. Who can therefore be surprised that West Germany's largest theatre complex is to be found in North Rhine-Westphalia, in the industrial and economic conurbation on the Rhine and Ruhr?

Twenty cities in a region stretching between Aachen and Paderborn and between Münster and Bonn possess a total of 46 theatres. In comparison 77 cities in all of West Germany have 194 theatres.

About a quarter of all West German theatres can therefore be found in North Rhine-Westphalia. Their character will change considerably as West German theatre administration changes due to the appointment of new directors in many towns at the end of this season or the next. You only have think of the new men who are taking over theatres in Bochum and Düsseldorf this autumn and later in Münster, Essen and Cologne.

The 46 publicly and privately-owned theatres in North Rhine-Westphalia can be divided into two rough groups that take no account of their artistic value. The first group consists of companies which have restricted their work to the towns where they are based, apart from occasional guest performances elsewhere. These include the municipal theatres in Aachen, Cologne, Dortmund, Essen, Hagen, Münster, Oberhausen and Wuppertal, to name only the largest.

The second category consists of theatres that have been cooperating with each other for a longer or shorter period. Mention must be made of the Krefeld and Mönchengladbach fusion of 1950, the first and so far only merger of two theatres in North Rhine-Westphalia since 1945.

Two other examples of cooperation between theatres — between Düsseldorf and Duisburg from 1956 onwards and Bochum and Gelsenkirchen since 1966 — do not amount to mergers as both companies retain their seperate identity.

It is mainly the Düsseldorf opera house and theatre that provides Duisburg with all its productions. Bochum theatre performs 120 times a year in Gelsenkirchen while the Gelsenkirchen company visits Bochum forty times a year with opera performances.

Plans for further mergers or cooperation between theatres in the Ruhr have been discussed for a number of years but nothing has so far emerged. The best known of these reform proposals is one by the cultural advisers of Dortmund and Gelsenkirchen, Dr Alfons Spielhoff and Heinrich Meya, for a central Ruhr opera house.

Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen and Hagen opera houses would combine under this bold project. The opera already makes up fifty per cent of the expenditure the cities set aside for culture and the inevitable increase in costs will demand new methods of this type.

Dr Spielhoff and Heinrich Meya have not stated the form this new merger is to take and this is the most important point. Closer examintion of the two possibilities — a static or a travelling Ruhr opera — shows that neither form has much chance of being adopted.

If the opera were to be based in, say Dortmund, theatre-goers would gave to travel to the new forty million Mark building from Hagen and Gelsenkirchen. But this does not happen know and would probably not happen in future without a long period of developmental re-education.

On the other hand, it is doubtful whether a travelling Ruhr Opera would cut expenditure. In fact the opposite could be the case and costs could rise because the company would be always on the move.

To improve the theatre situation in North Rhine-Westphalia in practice as well as on paper, the cities themselves will have to take off their cultural blinkers and do more towards seeking contact with other towns they may have done in isolated cases in the past.

Praise must be given in this respect to the regular exchanges between theatres in Bochum and Düsseldorf and to the cooperation between Düsseldorf, Cologne, Wuppertal and Dortmund in the ballet sector.

The situation could also be improved by reforming theatre administration as Peter Zadek has shown with his "voluntary subscription" scheme from which other West German theatres could without doubt benefit.

On being appointed director of the Bochum theatre, Zadek scrapped the normal subscription system under which

Continued on page 11

■ THEATRE

Recklinghausen Ibsen production leads audience by the nose

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Ibsen's *Enemy of the People* has been produced twice in West Germany in recent weeks. Hagen Mueller-Stahl's production at the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel, Munich, failed in all the respects that made this, the most topical of historical dramas, so exciting and so excitingly problematical at the Ruhr Festival in Recklinghausen.

Dietrich Haugk's production for Recklinghausen involved major alterations, making the play a dramatic experience to make the audience amazed and awestruck, but also decidedly angry.

Haugk took each act and had it performed in a different age, from the years of mad speculation (1871—74, immediately after the Franco-Prussian War) to the Orwellian future of 1984. The setting was a small town in Germany and not Norway.

The doctor at the baths, Thomas Stockmann, (played by Bonno Sterzenbach) has a conscience about the filthy state of the water and puts up a resistance to the lust for profit of his fellow citizens and the unscrupulousness of the mayor who is his brother Peter Stockmann (Walter Richter) and who tries to cover up the pollution of the bathwater to manipulate the opinions of the public. This is a simple game of evil majority morality that gets more successful as the play progresses.

The core of the play is nothing to do with environmental pollution and the fight against it, or at least this is only a superficial aspect of the drama, The point is far more the tricky theme of formation of opinions in a democratic system.

Thomas Stockmann is the idealistic hero and courageous go-it-aloner fighting for the general weal who turns in a fanatic fighting for the truth with elements of the fascist ego. He is well aware how vacillating and dangerous the opinions of the masses are and he promptly denies them the right to have their say

A scene at a meeting becomes a tribunal, not just for the masses but also for the hero. In Recklinghausen this act is performed in the present day and it also becomes a tribunal for the audience. The audience is egged on to take sides by actors in disguises, claques, hecklers and drunkards in the stalls.

This ambitious and apparently critical attempt to seduce the public ends with an apparently successful attempt to get them to sympathise with the loner, the fighting moralist who is then quite rightly turned by Benno Sterzenbach more and more into a zealous slavering Fuehrer type with Hitler mannerisms. The character is denounced along with those audience members who sided with him.

This was a theatrical success, but one that relied on emotional prerequisites. The audience reacted, obviously led astray by the apparent reality of it all. They were misled by an illusion and reacted accordingly. They too became zealous and slavering, then felt themselves trapped and shamed. This was the most exciting evening in Recklinghausen for years.

Dietmar N. Schmidt

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 30 May 1972)



A scene from the Recklinghausen production of Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*
(Photo: Daisy Steinbeck)

Murray Louis Dancers star at Wiesbaden ballet festival

Frankfurter Rundschau

Quality as well as quantity is added to the international ballet festival held each May in Wiesbaden by guest appearances of foreign dance companies. This year the ambitious plans of the festival organisers were for greater exclusivity than ever. The Murry Louis Dance Company, New York, came to Wiesbaden for two nights fitted in between engagements in Rome, Lisbon, Paris, London, Brussels and Zagreb. This was their only guest appearance in the Federal Republic.

What Murry Louis and his seven-strong troupe offered on these two evenings gave a satisfactory answer to those who doubted his skills or wondered about his choreographic style. Louis showed refined Modern Dance, barefooted, backed by strong colours in the costumes and the backdrop.

The themes did not always lend themselves to translation and the music on the modern side was by Alwin Nikolais and Free Jazz groups, while Johannes Brahm's music took care of the traditional sector.

Despite the severity of the music everything to do with the dance was organic. None of the movements denied warmth or cosiness. Limbs took on new functions, swaying, trembling, vibrating. Trunk and hips constantly changed their normal positions and developed a life of their own.

Few jetés, a lot of feathery hopping movements and grotesque runs bound together extravagant figures. The choreography took its substance at the outset from a mixture of opening mimes and atmospheric symbols from which the basic motifs for what followed branched off.

Often following an entrée there would be a careful sensing and filling of the space around. Hands, arms and the top of the body would try to escape from the trunk. This often gave a plant-like impression, that is to say a sense that the only place in which the body was restricted was where it met the ground. The rest was free to sway with the wind or water at a speeded up tempo.

This is beautiful to see with the specially fitting lighting and contains many surprises, particularly when the dancers form groups.

This emphasis of an organic and not necessarily human life is to be found in the ballet *Calligraphy for Martyrs* and *Continuum*. A great deal of choreographic fantasy produces a peaceful and almost phlegmatically saturated atmosphere. There is the consciously fabulous half-hour Murray Louis solo in *Chimera* which is nourished from mythological sources, but this soon dies a death and even jazzy rhythms cannot help to revive the audience's interest in this choreographic tour of phantoms and complexes.

Clowning and grotesqueness pave the way to a second aspect of the dance invention of Murray Louis which is again spared serious conflicts. *Hoppla* and *Personae* are "applied" acrobatics and show courage enough to indulge in corny jokes. They are loose entertainment full of gags.

Only rarely and never in the solos does Louis' humour show profundity as an interpretation of a human weakness. There are no clouds on the horizon, the sun shines, there is jubilation and throwing of arms in the air, gaiety, embraces, gracefulness and charming dancing in a ring in the ballet *Proximities*.

With unrestrained choreography Murray Louis here finally makes his ideological position clear. This is dance for its own sake as an "art of movement and not a surrogate for sociology, psychoanalysis and literature", the programme tells us.

That hits the nail right on the head, especially since there is such an excellent male and female dancer at hand.

Gerhard Ritter

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 May 1972)

Continued from page 10

members had to attend performances on certain dates and replaced it by a voluntary subscription scheme. Regular theatregoers are now sold a book of tokens allowing them to attend ten performances of their choice.

Zadek hoped that this method would lead to new blood being introduced into the normally elderly subscriber groups that did not look upon experimentation too enthusiastically. He also hoped to end the drop in subscriptions sold. In Bochum the number of subscribers had dropped fifty per cent in recent years.

Zadek was the first person in the Ruhr to put into practice what many directors and politicians interested in cultural affairs had long demanded or at least secretly desired — the theatre has been released from the compulsions of an administrative form that make it subject to interference which could and usually does stand in the way of its further cultural development.

Klaus Morgenstern

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 May 1972)

Mauricio Kagel's 'play' has no actors and no audience

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Around a circular platform decked out in grey with four microphones sit thirty people, squatting on the floor around this 'stage'. This is a rehearsal with Mauricio Kagel, the 40 year-old Argentinian who has been living in West Germany since 1957 and his thirty "audience members". *Rehearsal* is the title of this "non-play" which is at one and the same time the rehearsal and the play. There is no audience in the accepted sense of the word. Everyone is an actor.

This sounds like an enticement to would-be actors and like Hell to introverts. Perhaps it is an opportunity for the life-and-soul to brush up his act in time for the next party. A more profound experience in group therapy?

Rehearsal has something of all these and something else. In the bare surroundings of the Malersaal at Hamburg Schauspielhaus Kagel, acting neither as master of ceremonies nor as a psychiatrist, gave a jolt to the culture industry produced by professionals for consumers.

By deposing both the actor and the audience Kagel has not raised the "layman" up on a pedestal. He has given the creative process a central position. He has shown how sounds and gestures, optical and acoustic signals are created and interact.

The six "tasks" hark back to musical principles: imitation and variation.

Task One: A silent gesture has to be repeated by the man next to you and he in his turn has to create one for the next men to imitate. The self-critical discussion was marked by complaints of excessive haste, lack of concentration and insufficient exactitude in the imitation. These discussions are part and parcel of all the tasks.

Task Two: Change places and two people who have become neighbours by chance act out an improvised scene. The building blocks for this are speech, sounds, music and movement. There are no props. It is astounding how far this task can be carried out successfully.

Task Three: The duet, which is designed to produce less action and less speech, but greater musical creativity instead. The group is making progress.

Task Four: New pairs are required to react to what they have just seen. This action replay misfires almost completely.

Task Five: An acoustic side augments the action. In a trio there is a melange of singing, humming and whistling, noises made with hands and lips and scarcely any spoken words. Obviously Ligeti, Kagel, Stockhausen have already been heard.

Task Six: Listening to a recording of task five. This task is not tantamount to consumer activity, as might be alleged, but has its place in the series of tasks and is part of the rehearsal. It is active, productive listening. It was not until the three hours spent on this evening that such hearing capacity became possible.

Those taking part, who had presented music as drama, viewed it and listened to it linked themselves with this tonal world. Kagel's *Rehearsal* is an example as a school of New Music. And what is more it is a workshop for learning to listen to Kagel. Why not? *Herbert Glossner*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 28 May 1972)

■ EDUCATION

Geographers fear for the future of geography studies

Geography teaching is being changed from top to bottom now that educationalists have drawn the right conclusions from the rather depressing fact that there is a growing lack of interest in the subject in schools and university students only choose these courses as a last resort.

New problems have now arisen about how people can organise their lives rationally in a world of constant change.

Geography is a university subject. Geographers are faced by the question of why their subject of all subjects should be taught in slightly modified form at schools and why extremely relevant issues such as town and country planning, environmental conservation, economics and sociology should not be dealt with. Geography as a subject sees its existence threatened.

Geographers have re-examined the origins of their science and found that it results from Germany's historical situation in the last twenty years or so of the nineteenth century.

The German Empire at that time was emerging from its role as a purely continental power and was becoming interested in overseas countries. Following this trend, geography first dealt with Germany, then Europe and finally the other continents.

The same conditions do not prevail today. The mysteries of the Earth have been largely revealed and all disciplines have recognised the senselessness of dealing with scientific questions at a purely national level. The problems facing us today are those of a world that has already been opened up.

Ever since the end of the sixties geographers have tried to find a way out of the crisis facing their subject. One solution is provided by the late Saul B. section of the West German School Geography Association has been working since 1969 on modifying these demands for the benefit of the subject.

As far as geography is concerned, the aim of teaching must be to prepare pupils for situations that will confront them in later life and that result from the redistribution of the population through social mobility, the adaptation of traditional residential structures to today's technological requirements, the changes in social behaviour as a result of economic change, the requirements of the Third World and finally the demands of environmental conservation.

As far as the relationship between the geography taught at schools and that taught as universities is concerned, educationalists are tending to demand more and more that the education of university students should be adapted to their future profession of teacher, a demand that is also being raised in other subjects.

Educationalists are urging schools not to teach their pupils facts and figures. Instead, schoolchildren should be taught how to set about problems. Geography pupils should no longer be forced to learn a list of facts about the world but should be helped to achieve the capability of solving geographical problems of their own accord with the help of model cases. Behind this idea there lies the concept of emancipatory education according to which learning is to be understood as a change in behavioural dispositions.

These demands are topical and teaching along there lines has doubtlessly many advantages over traditional geography teaching. But there are also a number of dangers. What will remain of geography if it accepts all these new demands all too hastily and tries to integrate within itself all related disciplines? Would it not become a mere sub-section of social science? This point was raised repeatedly at the recent School Geography Congress in Ludwigshafen.

Geography, Professor Dietrich Bartels Robinsohn, the founder of German curriculum reserarch.

Robinsohn once listed the criteria for learning aims. They included importance within the framework of the science and practical application in public life. A of Karlsruhe University stated, consists of three factors – geomorphological, geo-ecological and soio-spatial problems.

If reformers' demands are met, pupils will no longer learn anything about the structure of the Alps and continental drift. It is far more important for teaching to be based on the problems of the future.

But despite all futurology we know little about the future and are easily tempted to see it as an extension of the present. Who will decide what pupils need to know to solve tomorrow's problems?

Doesn't this give free rein to ideologists wanting to impose pre-fashioned patterns of behaviour? Doesn't it show a certain lack of confidence in schoolchildren when educationalists do not trust them to draw their own conclusions from what they are taught?

Aren't pupils being taught isolated knowledge when teaching is restricted to model cases and structures? Where is the ideal of education when geography enters the service of practical thought?

Universities must also guard against the demands of the schools affecting them too much with the result that education is given priority and basic research is neglected.

Geographers at the Ludwigshafen congress were well aware of the dangers involved in reform. Everybody will second the statement that geography is not an end in itself but an aid in the organisation of life.

Geographers will oppose all attempts to misuse geography for political purposes: "Persons wishing to impart geographical knowledge with ideological bias should in all fairness speak not of emancipatory education but of indoctrination."

One thing is certain. The days of classical geography at schools are numbered. Willi Walter Puls, chairman of the School Geography Association, states: "One day the subject will cease to exist. But there will still be geographers teaching in a broader subject that has still to be set up."

Ekkehard Böhm

(Die Welt, 26 May 1972)

French lessons for 4- and 5-year olds

Three hundred fathers in Rhineland-Palatinate are happy to be greeted with a fluent "Bonjour, Papa" on returning home to their four- or five-year old children after a day's work.

Other Federal states have organised similar experiments but this is the first time that an attempt has been made at kindergarten level to lay the foundations for genuine bilingualism.

French is not drummed into the children of course. Eight French kindergarten teachers take groups of German children in eight State-run and private kindergartens in Mainz, Ludwigshafen, Worms, Bad Bergzabern, Landau, Kaiserslautern, Trier and Koblenz. They play, sing and dance with them in French for twenty minutes every day under an exchange scheme in which seven kindergarten teachers from Rhineland-Palatinate are also working in France.

The Franco-West German Youth Association is backing the scheme. Dr Heinrich Geissler, the Rhineland-Palatinate Social Services Minister, sees experiments of this type as a means of taking advantage of all the opportunities offered by kindergarten teaching.

Rhineland-Palatinate's kindergarten system is exemplary. A total of 6,5.. new kindergarten places were established in 1971 alone and by 1980 all five-year-olds, three quarters of all four-year-olds and half of all three-year-olds should be able to attend kindergartens in the Federal state.

A scientific investigation is planned to show how successful the language teaching has been. Educationalists will examine the children's fluency and ability to after they leave kindergarten and enter primary school.

Some of the three hundred families are reported to be a little disappointed. They had hoped that their children would speak perfect French after only twelve months.

(Die Welt, 18 May 1972)

The hunt for trainees begins anew every year. There are far more positions for trainees in West Germany than young people wishing to enter professions demanding this type of apprentice training.

More trainee posts going than young people to fill them



Forty per cent of all training positions were not taken up in 1969 and 1970. It seems as though school-leavers face unlimited opportunities as they enter the working world. But things are actually much tougher.

The demand for trainee posts is extremely high. Interest in the various professions varies wildly. Nobody any longer wishes to be a broom-binder although this is a profession demanding training and a number of apprenticeships are offered.

But on the other hand there were almost fourteen thousand applications for the 3,300 posts as trainee mechanics with radio and television. This amounts to 420 applicants for every one hundred posts.

The number of applicants for jobs as laboratory assistant was twice as high as the number of trainee posts available. There were 135 applications for every hundred trainee posts as telephone engineer, 132 for every hundred as electrical engineers and 169 for every hundred as cook.

On the other hand the number of people entering handworker professions has dropped noticeably in recent years. Only sixty applications were made for every hundred trainee posts available in the butchering trade in 1969 and 1970, only 57 for painters and varnishers, 55 for carpenters, 47 for bakers and 46 for bricklayers.

Though they point out the trend, these figures should not be overrated. School-leavers are not as well informed about career prospects as would be desirable. Many of them are unable to judge their own capabilities. The number of opportunities makes it difficult for them to reach the right decision.

This is where the career advice service comes in. Career specialists have to hear the young people's wishes and fit them in with the demands of the labour market.

The best effects are achieved by individual advice. Almost ninety per cent of all pupils at intermediate schools visited career advice centres in 1969 and 1970 compared with about two thirds of high-school pupils with a school-leaving certificate who are usually far more critical about State institutions.

Career advice and the young persons' own experiences when looking for a post led to the final situation being completely different from what could have been forecast from their original wishes.

Many of the young people ended up in a profession which they had not originally chosen. A third of those becoming motor mechanics had once wanted to enter a different profession. Seventy per cent of apprentice engineers had originally planned a different future.

The trainee situation varies according to profession. No profession could fill all its trainee posts in 1969 or 1970. The nearest any branch got to this was the telephone engineering department with 7.6 per cent of its trainee posts unfilled.

A total of 7.7 per cent of the trainee posts open to females in the banking profession remained unfilled. The rate for male bank trainees was 15.2 per cent.

Though the number of applicants for radio and television engineering was as large as the number of trainee posts available, fifteen per cent of the vacancies remained unfilled. Forty per cent of trainee posts as motor mechanics remained vacant despite the interest shown in this branch by males.

The trainee situation is even more depressing in other professions. Only one in two posts for female trainee cooks or seamstresses were taken up. This state of affairs was not much better where was hairdressers were concerned.

A total of 61 per cent of posts as trainee baker remain vacant, compared to 56 per cent for the painting and carpentry trades, 73 per cent for waiters, 71 per cent for service-station attendants and .. per cent for male hairdressers. There are a number of small firms with four or five trainees that have been looking in vain for another apprentice for years.

Careful study of the recent career advice figures published by the Federal Labour Institute, Nuremberg also reveals that more trainee posts remain vacant in large cities than in small towns.

Sixty per cent of trainee posts in Hamburg remained vacant, 55 per cent of vacancies were unfilled in Hagen, 56 per cent in Cologne, 49 per cent in Hanover, 53 per cent in Munich and as many as 65 per cent in Frankfurt.

Figures for more rural areas were much lower. Only 24 per cent of vacancies remained unfilled in Bremerhaven, 22 per cent in Nordhorn, 28 per cent in Coesfeld, 25 per cent in Balingen and Konstanz and only eighteen per cent in Offenburg.

There are of course a large number of reasons for this trend. School-leavers in cities often want a job that will earn them a lot of money while a period of apprenticeship or training is preferred in rural and small-town industrial areas as a stable foundation for future security.

Johannes Clausen

(Deutsche Zeitung, 26 May 1972)

■ MEDICINE

21st German advanced medical conference in West Berlin

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The 21st West German Advanced Medical Congress ended in Berlin with awards for the three best films in this field. Over 26,000 doctors attended the six-day congress.

Three completely independent series of lectures and a large number of special courses – there were a total of 208 lecturers for doctors and 29 for male nurses and nursing sisters – ensured that the advance training programme was particularly rich and covered the most important medical fields.

Professor Schettler, head of the Advanced Medical Congress Association, stated in his closing speech that members of no other profession in West Germany devoted themselves to advance training with so much dedication and at such expense as doctors. Their eagerness and idealism should act as an example and stimulus to other professions.

Schettler awarded the first prize – the Congress Association Challenge Trophy – to a representative of the Grünenthal chemical concern for the film "Tuberculosis Today".

On making the award, Professor Schettler stated that, though tuberculosis was thought to be under control, about fifty thousand persons were stricken with it every year in West Germany alone. It had not therefore been wiped out.

The Grünenthal company's film also received the Congress Association's "Golden Rose" and a prize of honour from the West Berlin Senate.

The second and third prizes – also Golden Roses – were awarded to the E. Merck pharmaceutical firm of Darmstadt for its film *Treating Burns* and the Roland pharmaceutics company of Essen for *Movement Therapy for Peripheral Circulatory Disorders.*

The Advanced Training Congress for Male Nurses and Nursing Sisters held concurrently with the Advanced Medical Congress for Doctors centred around the most modern methods used for diagnosing stomach complaints – gastro-camera examinations.

A film about gastro-camera examinations shot in Steglitz Hospital in 1969 and 1970 gave information on the methods involved in this technique. The film was the work of Professor Oshima, Dr Bergemann and H.U. Rehs.

This method has proved particularly successful for the diagnosis of stomach cancer that is still in an early stage. Its penetration into the stomach membrane is not too far advanced and chances of a complete cure are good.

Professor Oshima has used gastro-camera methods for more than ten years and he stated that 92.5 per cent of the people found to have stomach cancer in its early stages surveyed five years at least.

The gastro-camera method is completely without risk for patients and is not very troublesome. Between 20 and 25 patients an hour can be examined. This method already permits 32 colour photographs to be taken of the whole stomach.

The film also showed doctors interpreting the photgraphs afterwards. The pictures – 4x5 or 4x6 centimetres – indicated whether a patient had stomach cancer, stomach ulcers or stomach polypi.

In his lecture on the advances made my morphological stomach diagnostics Professor Oshima outlined the present state and distribution of gasto-camera diagnostics.

There are today a total of 280,000 gastro-cameras throughout the world, he stated. Most of them were in Japan where the first camera that could be swallowed was developed over twenty years ago. Europe is relatively backward with only an estimated six hundred gastro-cameras.

There is no part of the stomach that the gastro-camera cannot probe. While earlier models did not allow doctors to see what areas they were photographing, newer versions have a fibroscope attached.

The fibroscope, made of glass fibres, allows doctors to select what sections of the stomach they wish to photograph. This diagnostic technique can be refined further by combining gastro-camera examinations with X-rays, a method practised for the first time in Europe by the Steglitz Hospital in February 1972.

Mass examination by gastro-camera does not represent an insurmountable financial problem, as the Japanese example shows. Mass stomach examinations of this type have been practised there since 1960 and are now a staple part of preventive examinations.

More than two million Japanese a year profit from this diagnostic method as stomach tumours that would otherwise remain unrecognised are found and can be treated immediately.

Professor Fölsch told the congress about the latest state of affairs in bone marrow transplantation. Bone marrow transplants were the first successful organ transplants, he stated.

The first experiments were conducted during the Second World War. More than two to three hundred transplants of this type have now been concluded successfully throughout the world.

Bone marrow transplants are conducted in the event of primary diseases of the bone marrow, secondary malformations of the bone marrow and finally when the exceedingly rare accidents at atomic reactors destroyed the bone marrow.

Bone marrow transplants are most successful when conducted on patients with diseases of their immunological system, with certain forms of anaemia or, more recently, leukaemia, Professor Fölsch claimed.

Immunological methods are playing an increasingly central role in diagnostics because of their importance in tracing and controlling the course of many inflammatory deseases.

About a third of all expenditure on diagnostic examinations goes on qualitative and quantitative analysis of serum proteins, substances that help the body's defence mechanisms.

Hospital immunologists can read from the characteristic immunoglobulin patterns the type of disease suffered and the intensity of the inflammational reaction which is so important for making a prognosis.

The diagnostic importance and immunological analysis of serum proteins was illustrated by a film produced by the Behring works of Marburg which was given its first showing at the Advanced Medical Training Congress in Berlin.

The film, showing the methods of qualitative plasma protein analysis, was awarded the Golden Berlin Memorial Church Medallion.

Hans Lesser

(Der Tagesspiegel, 31 May 1972)

Aid to mammography

Regular medical check-ups guarantee the greatest possible chance of survival in the fight against cancer. Early diagnosis of breast cancer is particularly important, since the death rate in this category has been rising for years. Siemens have developed a special instrument for mammography, the radiological examination of the female breast. By means of an ingenious technique, the "Mammomat" simplifies and speeds up the radiographing procedure and is therefore particularly suitable for mass radiology. The new equipment supplies first-class X-rays on which even extra-fine structures of the breast tissue in the order of magnitude of about one tenth of a millimeter can be detected. The transparent film holder permits a precise check of whether the breast is in the correct position for the radiograph. (Photo: Siemens)

New methods aid diagnosis of dangerous virus infections

Three thousand babies are born in West Germany every year with congenital virus infections. Most of them are threatened by life-long physical or mental handicaps. The Robert Koch Institute of Berlin has now developed a test that enables doctors to make a quick diagnosis and take the necessary counter-measures.

Has an unborn child's immunological system the necessary defence mechanisms to counter any bacteria or viruses with which it comes into contact? Up to a few years ago doctors thought they had the answer to this question because of a discovery made by Paul Ehrlich in 1892.

Ehrlich had been able to prove by experiment that all the antibodies in a foetal organism came from the mother as, or so Ehrlich claimed, the child was not capable of reacting to bacteria before and immediately after birth.

This assumption became biological dogma but it has not been able to hold up to more recent examination. From the twentieth week of pregnancy onwards the normal human foetus is in fact able to produce certain immunoglobulins in its blood and react to infection by stepping up their production.

Two virus infections prompted widespread research – German measles and cytomegalia. It is well-known that babies can be born deformed if the mother is infected by German measles during pregnancy.

But it is only recently that more thorough research has been conducted into cytomegalia which is worldwide and sometimes referred to as the salivary gland virus infection.

As the name implies, cytomegalia involves the formation of giant cells that not only occur in the large parotid glands but can also affect a number of organs and the central nervous system.

Dr Grigorios Antoniadis of the Robert Koch Institute told a symposium held under the auspices of the Berlin Advanced Medical Congress that about one per cent of the eight hundred thousand babies born every year in West Germany were estimated to have a cytomegalia infection while an average of 1,500 babies suffered anomalies of the central nervous system.

Reaction varies when pathogenic agents pass from the mother's organism to the foetus. Both the German measles and cytomegalia viruses are able to penetrate the placenta and enter the foetal organism.

But the immunological substances produced by the mother cannot enter the foetus in the same way as they are unable to penetrate the placenta.

However the unborn child is able to react to these two virus infections (German measles and cytomegalia) by producing immunological substances of its own. Dr Antoniadis gave interesting details of how this was found out.

Together with specialists from the Robert Koch Institute the Behring works of Marburg have developed what they call partigene disks which enable doctors to make a reliable early diagnosis.

These disks are covered with a layer of jelly that contains a specific antiserum. This antiserum reacts to proteins in the human serum in such a way that the findings can be registered without difficulty by a laboratory assistant.

It has proved practicable to take blood samples from the umbilical cord of the newly-born child. Researchers will then certainly find immunoglobulins that do not originate from the mother but have been produced by the foetus itself.

As doctors do not always find it easy to recognise milder forms of cytomegalia immediately after birth, Dr Antoniadis calls for regular examination of new-born children through this relatively cheap method, especially as early diagnosis is essential if treatment is to prove successful.

Progress has also been noted in the diagnosis of liver complaints because of immunoglobulin analysis, Professor H. Deicher of the department of clinical immunology and blood transfusion at Hanover Medical College told the symposium.

The occurrence of the alpha 1 foetoprotein, normally only found in the serum of adults, can be considered a sign of a liver tumour. Serum diagnostics also eases the search for the Australia antigene which aids the diagnosis of hepatatis.

Alfred Püllmann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 May 1972)

■ OUR WORLD

Farmers make every effort to improve farm holidays

Holidays down on the farm bring to the city dweller's mind visions of fondling calves, feeding lambs, good country air and idyllic pictures of quiet cows grazing in meadows. But the farmer, who probably has no calves or lambs but only high-milk-yielding cows has to think of his business opportunities.

Over the past ten years the West German Agricultural Association (DLG) has tried to bring together under one hat, as it were, these differing notions and suppositions and to give a true meaning to these hazy notions, making the idea of a holiday down on the farm an attractive proposition. This has resulted in the slogan "Holidays down on the farm".

From 1973 accredited farmers will be able to advertise for holiday guests using this slogan. The slogan will not guarantee holidaymakers some kind of rustic idyll. This does not exist any longer.

Dietmar Hözl, speaking at the DLG show said: "Those who advertise romantic rusticity are bound to awaken expectations that cannot be fulfilled. Holidays on a farm offer today relaxation in the country, in clean air and away from

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noise, the pleasure of fields, meadows, woods with their animal life. For the children there is stimulation, things to do and plenty of room to play in."

But those who want to benefit from the holidays down on the farm idea must offer a little more. According to a commission set up to investigate what qualities are needed to increase the number of down on the farm holidaymakers a good rustic location was the first important point along with a friendly situation, general availability for public transport, good business sense, the kind of rooms well-kept for guests, good sanitation and the aptitude of the host to provide entertainment for his guests.

The most difficult is the provision of equipment for leisure time activities. Dr Ute Hold of the Rhineland agricultural chamber said: "After about the third day the guest has had enough of pure air and the quiet of the countryside. If there is nothing locally interesting that the holidaymaker can do the farmer must provide something. But above all it is vital that non-dangerous playthings for the children be provided."

Manfred Helzer, of the marketing research organisation for agricultural products from Lower Saxony said: "The chance of doing great things in this holidays down on the farm campiagn can be further developed by providing facilities for holidaymakers to pursue their hobbys whilst on holiday. This cannot be done in every case but there are certain things that country life can provide that can help things along."

But things have not got this far yet. The DLG accredition will try to impose equal standards throughout the Federal Republic, standards that will be tested and controlled. For holidaymakers it is vital that they get what they are offered and the DLG accredition is out to see they get this. With the aid of DLG accredition the farmer will be able to maintain his position in the competitive holiday market and furthermore he will be able to obtain from DLG up-to-date holiday information and advice.

Angelika Gaebeler

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 30 May 1972)

EEC road accident survey

One road death in three in the European Common Market occurs in this country — one traffic accident in three too. This proportion is culled from EEC statistics compiled with a joint attempt to combat road deaths in Europe in mind.

In 1969, according to the statistics, 868,600 traffic accidents occurred on Common Market roads. They resulted in 1,118,000 injuries and 45,000-odd road deaths.

This country emerges as the loss leader, with 340,000 accidents, 472,000 injured and 16,000-odd dead. The runner-up is France with 220,000 accidents involving injury to life and limb, 312,000 injured persons and 14,200 deaths.

The tail-ender is Luxembourg with a mere 110 road deaths and slightly over 2,000 accidents.

The main causes of accidents listed by the EEC authorities in Brussels are: —

— an increasing number of vehicles on the roads, many of which have more powerful engines than used to be customary;

— the dangerous fascination of racing with other drivers on normal roads;

— poor roads, including certain sections of autobahn;

—inadequate road signs and

— a lack of road sense and responsibility.

Road safety guidelines are accordingly to be introduced before long. They will involve: —

— compulsory road safety lessons in all Common Market schools;

— tougher uniform driving-test regulations;

— stricter, standardised regulations and procedures concerning drunken driving;

— uniform speed limits for certain categories of vehicle and standardised Ministry of Transport vehicle requirements.

With eighty million motorists and motor-cyclists on the roads the Brussels Common Market Commission feels the introduction of these guidelines to be an urgent necessity.

The roads of Europe, the Commission comments, should be roads to work or holiday routes but not the way to hospital or the cemetery. *Gert Tigges*

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 11 May 1972)

Holidaymakers' spending abroad in 1971 in milliard Marks

Austria 2,724
Italy 2,229
Switzerland 1,635
Holland 996
Spain 982
France 870
USA 699
Yugoslavia 518
Britain 316
Denmark 303

Holidays abroad boom continues

West Germans' zest for foreign travel shows every sign of increasing. It is estimated that in ten years' time the present figure of 42 per cent of all citizens who go abroad for their holiday will shoot up to sixty per cent or more. By then many people will be taking holidays two or three times a year.

These views were expressed by tourism experts, economists and politicians at the 8th Tourism Seminar that was held in Bad Steben. The experts expressed the view that before this century was out the 30-hour week would be introduced. From the medical point of view it would be better not to introduce a three-day working week but to recommend an extra week of holidays.

According to the experts who attended the Bad Steben seminar the constantly increasing number of days for leisure and increased incomes would mean that by 1980 citizens in the Federal Republic would be taking 39 million holidays and rest cures, spending 20 milliard Marks.

Bundestag member Jürgen Warnke said that West German holiday centres would have to work out definite policy lines to meet increased holidaying just as would other branches of the West German economy. Tourism in this country will need to concentrate more emphatically on the groups and sectors it wished to appeal to.

According to Herr Warnke the various holiday regions will have to specialise in the various groups they wish to attract — family groups, elderly people, people keen to bathe and so on. Furthermore the holiday resorts will have to decide if they want to appeal to the rich or not so rich.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 25 May 1972)

Holidaying in the Sauerland

Every child has his own holiday pony he can brush and comb, look after and fondle. Together the young holiday guests, accompanied by two female riding coaches can ride through the woods in the southern Sauerland, where they meet other adults also on horseback.

In the Sauerland there are more than 25 stables and farm-boarding houses where holiday guests can hire mounts. The pony stables at Öhringhausen, however, are the only establishment which offers accommodation and facilities for young people.

Snow-white sails on large and small craft billow out on Lake Bigge. During the season there are three steamers with seats for over 100 people cruising the lake. Sun-fiends can bath in the four large bathing stations that ring the lake. There are eight camping sites for tents and caravans beside lakes and rivers and in the woods. For young people there is accommodation in four youth hostels at very economic prices. Accommodation is also available for families subsidised by the various Federal states.

There are now twelve hotels operating in southern Sauerland that have their own swimming baths and in Oberkunden one swimming bath has a sauna attached. In Bilstein the swimming bath is heated.

There are daily bus excursions through the 35 villages that are taking part in the 'Keep the village beautiful' campaign. The villages are filled with flowers and beautifully kept public gardens. It is also possible to travel about the beautiful countryside in a coach or fish for eight-pound trout.

In the family hotels and boarding houses good wholesome food can be had — potato croquettes, broad beans with bacon, kale with huge German sausage and home made cakes.

There are 6,000 beds available in the area costing from 6.50 Marks per night with breakfast or 13.50 full board.

(Handelsblatt, 26 May 1972)

NEWS IN BRIEF

Hats off out

It is no longer necessary to raise the hat as a form of greeting according to a committee dealing with etiquette convened by the West German Dancing Teachers Association. The committee maintained that hat raising had lost its implications of good manners and politeness.

The committee came to its decision after considering a survey that had been taken in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland. A surprising 56 out of every 100 questioned were against the traditional greeting.

Even the elderly people asked said that raising the hat was now a meaningless act, a leftover from a different era when raising the hat showed a kind of servility and gave an appearance of devotion to one's betters. (Die Welt, 29 May 1972)

Wanted babies

Every third woman currently pregnant in this country not only wants the child she is bearing but planned to have it according to a survey conducted for the Health Ministry by the Munich Institute for Basic Research.

The survey was made of mothers who are currently expecting a child.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 20 May 1972)

Two holidays

One out of every ten citizens in this country has two holidays a year, the main holiday in summer and another holiday, independent of the usual holiday regulations, taken in winter, spring or autumn.

The inclination to take a second holiday has increased considerably in recent years particularly among shift workers whose income exceeds 1,500 Marks per month. Statistics show that fourteen per cent among this group take a second holiday. (Lübecker Nachrichten, 28 May 1972)

Bystanding forbidden

Curious bystanders who at the scene of an accident hinder officials trying to offer assistance will in future run the risk of having to deal with the law themselves in North Rhine-Westphalia.

State Interior Minister Willi Weyer has told the police that irresponsible action by curious onlookers that endanger life must be stopped. Bystanders who do not move on when asked to do so by police run the risk of being fined 1,000 Marks.

Motorists who park their cars so that the vehicles are an hindrance will have them carted away to the police pound. They will have to pay the towing costs. (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 31 May 1972)

Amateur cutters

Idar-Oberstein, the centre of the Federal Republic's precious-stone cutting industry, has opened a workshop for amateur cutters so that they can learn from experienced cutters how the job is done.

The amateurs have to being their own precious and semi-precious stones which can be worked under supervision into ash-trays or paper-weights.

The workshop gives the amateur cutters stones to cut on their first visit. The tuition costs 25 Marks per hour. It is later planted to arrange week-long courses.

(Handelsblatt, 26 May 1972)

■ SPORT

Munich's televised Olympics will be the greatest show on earth

WELT am SONNTAG

To gain an overall impression of the Olympics you have to sit in front of the TV set. Spectators in the stands are merely extras and there to encourage the athletes."

This alarmingly frank comment comes from someone who should know. Horst Seifart, 50, head of programmes for the worldwide Olympic transmissions, reckons Munich will be total TV.

Preparations have for the most part been concluded, contracts with international television corporations signed and sealed.

So far 58 broadcasting authorities have contracted to receive direct Olympic transmissions from Munich. Another two or three will probably still follow suit.

The organisation committee for the 1972 Olympics is reckoning on total revenue from the sale of television rights to the tune of 42.3 million Marks, 1.8 million more than originally budgeted for.

Then there will be an additional 22 million Marks or so from the 110 radio stations that plan to broadcast live from Munich.

Munich will break all previous records. Never before will there have been such total coverage of the Olympic Games.

Horst ("Actually I'm not very keen on publicity") Seifart has compiled a so-called world programme based on Olympic TV experience gained since Rome in 1960 when the Games were first given full international coverage.

"This world programme," he says, "is a compromise based on the wishes of all countries concerned.

"We have been able to work well with the Olympic organisation committee from the word go. No really important finals clash. This means that we can transmit every major final live."

On 2 September, for instance, the rowing finals take place between 10 am and 1.30 pm. That morning there are no other finals of comparable interest. That afternoon there is the final of the men's 800 metres but it is not until 5 pm and can thus also be broadcast live.

It too does not clash with any other major event and the same is true of the women's 100 metres final, which is scheduled to take place half an hour later.

"In addition," Seifart adds, "every contest will be recorded on tape and can be transmitted directly to any country interested at any time during the following 48 hours.

"In other words, we will have a film of the third 100 metres heat. Maybe a sprinter from Luxembourg will have set up a national record in this heat, which would then obviously be of interest for Luxembourg. Never fear, we will have everything at the ready. No one will end up empty-handed."

Munich has forced the viewing and spectating public to rethink the entire situation. Never before have the Olympics been so big on the small screen. People who really want to see it all might just as well stay at home.

The trend is towards an empty Olympic stadium in which athletes will compete in front of a non-existent spectating but overwhelming viewing public.

"The Munich armchair spectator," Seifart says, "will if need be able to work out what is going on without a soundtrack. The visual symbols will provide ample information."

Federal Republic TV will be on the air from nine in the morning to one at night, the first and second channels taking it in turns to supervise operations.

Each and every sporting event will be covered, domestic viewers being served even better than the international public by virtue of the extra cameras ARD and ZDF, this country's two channels, will be running.

In all other respects coverage will be international. "In my own sector," Seifart says, "directors from Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Britain, Finland and Holland will be working.

"Boxing, for instance, will be covered by a British and a German director, fencing by an Austrian. The rowing team will include a Swiss director and football will be covered by Dutch and Italian production staff."

The Olympics have been taken over by electronics. Gone are the days of Helsinki in 1952 when the Games were a far more modest affair. Future Olympic arenas will be increasingly governed by the dictates of TV technology. On this point there can be no turning the clock back.

In arranging the Olympic programme the Munich organisation committee, Seifart notes, accepted nearly all the requests made by television authorities.

"The Olympics are there for everyone," he continues, "but in reality they are only there for everyone on the TV screen. It is logical enough for the Olympic programme to have been drafted in conjunction by the organisation committee and the television authorities.

"It is not a matter of the TV people being supercilious. Most international associations have been obliging from the start. Only the athletics people have presented difficulties, sad to say." So people everywhere will be able to watch the Olympics to their hearts' content. The only exceptions will be a number of hard-up television authorities in Africa, Asia and South America. "If the decision were mine," Seifart says, "I would make them a present of the programme material. At a TV journalists' course in Tunis attended by 24 African countries I saw for myself how formidable their communications difficulties are and how eager they are to bridge the gap. This is an occasion on which development aid would be to some point. Let them be provided with the Olympics free of charge. But this, of course, is a question on which television cannot come to a decision on its own."

Nothing will go by the board at this summer's Olympic Games. The TV commentator will have a monitor screen at his desk on which he can select any one of a dozen transmissions. The choice is his. He will be his own programme director.

"It is, of course, already clear that the 1976 Olympics will be even more perfect in this respect." Seifart adds. "By then TV will probably have at least ten satellite channels at its disposal. At Munich we will only have two.

"Individual countries will then probably be able to mix their own programmes too. This year they will have to take what this country offers them. In this respect Munich, one could well say, may well prove to have been the last old-fashioned Olympics." *Gerhard Seehase*

(Welt am Sonntag, 4 June 1972)

Flag-honoured Olympics

The standing conference of town councils has recommended members to fly flags in honour of the Munich Olympics, to be held from 26 August to 10 September. In a statement released in Cologne the conference expressed the hope that local councils might in this way be able to make a modest contribution towards the success of the Games.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2 June 1972)

1972 Olympics will have an 800-million strong audience

Some 800 million people all over the world will be able to follow the progress of the 1972 Olympics on their radio and TV sets.

The organisation responsible for transmissions is the Federal Republic radio and TV Olympic centre, a body set up jointly by this country's first and second TV channels in 1968.

At Munich there will be roughly 900 commentator's desks — twice as many as in Mexico City. Sound and vision will be beamed at more than a hundred countries.

Over 100 electronic colour TV cameras will be in action. More than 2,000 metres of colour film an hour can be developed at the processing centre.

Most of the 33 Olympic locations will be covered exclusively in colour by electronic cameras. The specifications will be those customary in this country — 625 lines, 50 frames and the Pal colour system.

The only exceptions will be disciplines for which live transmissions are not particularly suited, such as archery, rifle-shooting and yachting. Coverage of these disciplines will be by film.

Between the opening ceremony on 26 August and the final event on 10 September 366 hours will tick by on the world's clocks. More than 1,200 hours of sporting events will be recorded by the TV cameras, though, more than three times as much as could conceivably be transmitted. (Welt am Sonntag, 4 June 1972)

No trousers for female archers

Miss Inger K. Frith's delicate hand, usually gloved to match her hat and other accessories, will firmly but diplomatically rule the Olympic roost on behalf of the International Archery Federation.

"Oh no, I have no objection to women wearing trousers," she says, "but women archers have to comply with the regulations of the International Federation and the regulations specify skirts.

"In this way we ensure uniformity and an optically more attractive impression," the first lady of archery says with a charming but determined smile.

The men will wear trousers and the women skirts, as the regulations specify. Kissing is, however, permitted, albeit only of a small, thicker section of the bowstring.

The kiss is a guide in pulling back the arrow and holding the bow in position. When the shot after the kiss is elastic and there is no recoil on the hand archers talk of a soft shot.

The women Robin Hoods will let loose a total of 24 dozen arrows at a pressed straw target with a diameter of 122 centimetres over 70 and 60 metres and 80 centimetres over the shorter distances of 50 and 30 metres.

The men have slightly greater distances to cover, 90, 70, 50 and 30 metres, but they will also fire two rounds of twelve dozen plastic-feathered arrows each.

The bull's eye is gold, then come red, blue, black and white and the number of points that can be awarded ranges from one to ten.

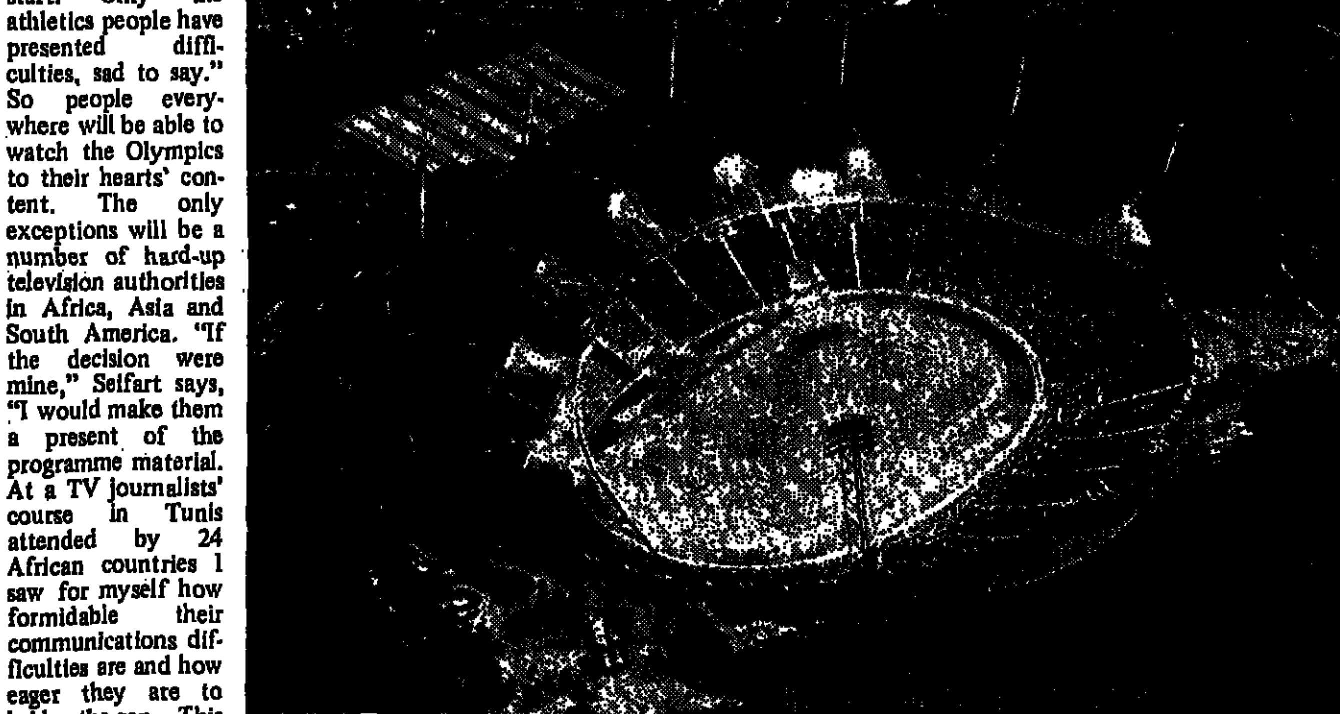
The archer does not carry his or her arrows around loose. Hip-toted quivers are still in fashion and often sport gaily coloured tassels. They used to be used for cleaning arrows after use during hunting.

Shooting does not start at the sound of a starting-pistol or a verbal command. As in traffic the signals are given by lights and horns.

When the lights have turned from red to green and a horn sounds the archer has two and a half minutes to fire three arrows.

Sighting the arrow is an art in itself and calls for concentration, skill and stamina. Unless sighting and firing are one seemingly easy movement the arrow is almost certain to wobble in flight, a shortcoming for which archers have a special term. *Brunt Henning*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 June 1972)



An aerial view of the Olympics soccer stadium, Munich, with the plastic-net roof that has been so controversial (Photo: Luftbild Max Prugger, Freigabe Reg. v. Obb. G 30/7097)